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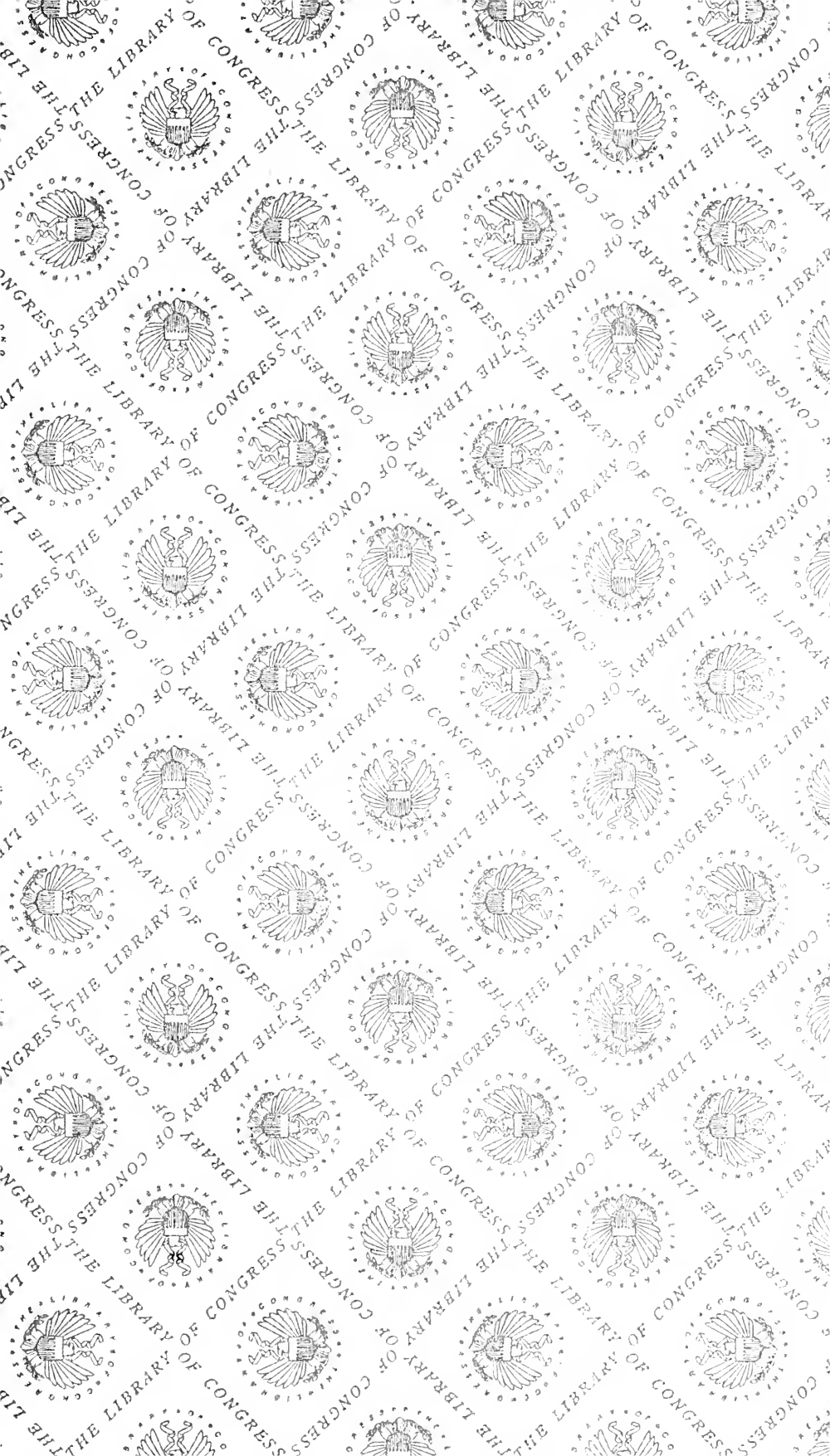
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UNITED STATES

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



**THE VOYAGES
OF
CHRISTOPHER
COLUMBUS.**



The Story of the Discovery of America, as
told by the Discoverer.

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INTRODUCTION.

Two hemispheres vie with each other in commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America and honoring the memory of its great discoverer. Church and state do their utmost to enhance the impressiveness of the celebration. The beauties of the Catholic liturgy and the resources of secular pomp are exhausted to make the festivities worthy of the great event commemorated and of the hero honored. The solemn services of the Church, the illumination and decoration of towns and cities, the erection of statues, eloquence, music, and the dramatic art—all contribute to the splendors of this international holiday. To crown all, Europe Asia, Africa and Australia, have sent their choicest products in science and art to the Exposition organized by the great republic of the New World, in honor of the great Genoese discoverer.

The United States Catholic Historical Society, as a Catholic, as well as an American and a historical association, could not allow this anniversary to pass by, without contributing its mite to the honor of Columbus and his great achievement. When death had carried off his father-in-law Agricola, the Roman historian Tacitus, bade Agricola's widow and daughter to bear in mind the deeds and wise sayings of the deceased hero and to contemplate his intellectual and moral portrait, rather than his statue in marble or bronze; for marble and bronze are perishable but the great qualities of the soul are everlasting. To others, therefore, we leave the erection of statues and memorials in stone and metal. The monument we here erect to the memory of Columbus—*monumentum aere perennius regaliq[ue] situ pyramidum altius*—is the picture drawn by himself of his soul,—of his indomitable pluck, his bold, clear intellect, of his religious zeal, of his simplicity and his dignity, of his patience and his

steadfastness. We present to our members translations of the chief writings of the great Admiral, in which they will find fresh and living the story of his deeds and his sufferings, of the feelings that stirred the undaunted heart which planned and endured so much. These "journals and letters, written not like the modern autobiography for the perusal of the world, but intended to be for himself and his friends, to whom they were written, a precious record and a memorial, pour forth with candor and sincerity, the emotions that swayed him, whether amid difficulties or triumphs, amid the murmurs of his despairing sailors, the plaudits of an admiring court, or the clanking of undeserved chains. They were not written to be published; they are not the effusions of a literary man, who has one eye on his correspondent and both on the great public. They are genuine letters, more likely to emphasize the faults than the merits of the writer. Many of them are written in storm and stress, nearly all amid conditions, favorable or unfavorable, which call forth the strongest and truest emotions of man's heart. They, therefore, depict for us the true likeness of Columbus. The lights and shades may at times be somewhat exaggerated, their effects remind us of Rembrandt's portraits, but the more we study the man in his deeds and his sayings, the more clearly will his greatness be revealed to us in spite of occasional failings, which he shares with humanity.

And this brings us to the second purpose of our publication. The broad facts that constitute the history of the discovery of the New World, are not and have never been a matter of controversy. There may be variations in minor details, but they affect neither the nature of the achievement nor the character of the hero. Winsor and Fisk, for instance discredit the romantic story of Columbus' reception by Fray Juan Perez at the convent of La Rabida, an incident which as told in Irving's pages, so moves and stirs the reader. But blot out the incident and neither the originality of Columbus' conception, nor his resourcefulness, skill, and learning as a navigator, neither his unwavering firmness of purpose, nor his

daring in challenging new and untried dangers, nor his undaunted faith and trust in the midst of the most critical surroundings, would be lessened by one iota. The chief recognized sources of the great Admiral's achievements are the same to-day as seventy years ago, and their interpretation has not essentially changed. Harrisse, it is true, has thrown doubts on the authenticity of the *Histoire* of Ferdinand Columbus, but the authority of the work has not suffered. And yet on these same authorities and these same facts different historians build up wholly different estimates of the work of Columbus and of the man. On these same facts and authorities are based the ardent panegyric of Roselly de Lorgues, the generous admiration of Irving and Prescott, the warm appreciation of Fiske, the discriminating praise of Von Humboldt, the cold criticism of M. Harrisse and the sneering invective of Mr. Winsor. Whence this amazing difference in judgment? Why does Mr. Winsor blame where others praise? Mr. Winsor thinks that it is due to his own superiority as a critical and a scientific historian. Is Mr Winsor right? Where does the province of the critical and scientific historian lie? In the gathering and sifting of historical evidence, in the full command of historical authorities, in the quick eye that sees historical contradictions and impossibilities, in the faculty of sympathizing with the age and the feelings of the men he treats, in the power to see what under given environment is possible or impossible, is likely or unlikely. All this will aid the historian to form a just and correct idea of his hero's character, and yet he may have all this, and err completely in his verdict. In every day life knowledge of human nature and knowledge of men is not the exclusive privilege of the man of many facts and varied lore. Often the plain man of common sense, the man who has studied men in the concrete, living among them with open eyes and a keen quick wit, knows his fellow men more truly and does them justice more fairly, than the scholar who has conquered ten thousand volumes and swallowed the dust of libraries for a quarter of a century. What is there to hinder

the man of action, who has seen again and again how men act in real life, amidst difficulties, and struggles and crises and triumphs and failures,—what is to hinder such a man when put in possession of the facts and placed face to face with the innermost thoughts of any great historical character to judge him and judge him correctly? Why may he not arrive at a fairer and a truer verdict, than the scholar who has mastered dates and details, but fails to see flesh and blood, because the man of flesh and blood does not fit in with the imaginary world which the scholar has created in his mind? All honor to the critical historian, when he collects, compares and sifts testimony, but if his judgment of the world's great men is to stand, he must prove himself to be more than a scientist and a critic, he must be a judge not only of books and facts, but of men—of their hearts, of their sympathies, of their feelings, of their passions, of their actions, of their judgments. We have, therefore, gathered and placed before the members of the United States Catholic Historical Society the most important documents that have come down to us from the pen of the discoverer of the New World. They will enable the attentive and thoughtful man of the world to form a fair and just opinion of Columbus the discoverer and Columbus the man. Judged by the evidence of his acts and his words, written in all simplicity, we feel convinced, the great Genoese will not be pronounced a self-seeker, a knave, a dreamer and a fanciful enthusiast.

The documents included in this volume cover the main incidents of the life of Columbus from his first voyage of discovery to his death. The letter to Don Raphael Sanchez translated into Latin and printed at Rome in April, 1493, opens the series. Its recognized importance has led us to print the Latin original as well as the translation. The details of the first voyage will be found in the abridged Journal of Columbus as preserved for us by the venerable Las Casas in his *Historia de las Indias*. As no account of the second voyage exists written by Columbus himself, to complete the history of his explorations, we have inserted the story of

Doctor Chanca, physician to the Admiral's fleet, and an eyewitness of what he relates. The third voyage is contained in a letter written by Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella. We have also added the pathetic letter of the Admiral to Donna Juana de la Torres, in which he sets forth his sufferings at the hands of the brutal Bobadilla. The story of the fourth voyage is set forth in Columbus' letter to Ferdinand and Isabella.

Our collection would not be complete without the Admiral's last will and testament. It is a proper epilogue to the story of his achievements. On account of their historical importance and their intimate connection with the life work of Columbus we have added the famous Bull of Demarcation published by Pope Alexander VI, on May 4th, 1493. We insert those passages of the Bull of May 3d, which differ from it. The text of these documents as well as some *Breves* of Julius II, referring to Bartholomew and Diego Columbus, we are enabled to lay before our readers through the courtesy of His Grace Archbishop Corrigan, to whom we offer our cordial thanks.

For the translation of the Diary of the First Voyage the Historical Society is indebted to Dr. Marc F. Vallette. It is only a new proof of his ardent devotion to the work of the Society. The translations of the letter to Don Rafael Sanchez, of Doctor Chanca's narrative of the Second Voyage, of the accounts of the Third and Fourth voyages are taken from Mr. R. H. Major's *Letters of Christopher Columbus* published by the Hakluyt society. The translation of the Admiral's Will is taken from the *Writings of Columbus*, edited by Paul Leicester Ford. And that of Pope Alexander's Bull is by Richard Eden. It is but fair to add that the archaic and peculiar style of the Diary is a severe tax on the skill and patience of the translator. Sometimes, in fact, the difficulties are so great as to be almost insurmountable. Dr. Vallette has striven to give us a faithful rendering of the original and if at times his style has suffered, the reader, we pray, will extend to him the needed indulgence with hearty good will.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN

FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

A letter addressed to the noble Lord Raphael Sanchez, Treasurer to their most invincible Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, by Christopher Columbus, to whom our age is greatly indebted, treating of the island of India recently discovered beyond the Ganges, to explore which he had been sent eight months before under the auspices and at the expense of their said Majesties.

Knowing that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you with all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it. Thirty days after

EPISTOLA CHRISTOFORI COLUM.

Cui aetas nostra nultum debet, de Insulis Indiae supra Gangem nuper inventis, ad quas perquirendas, octavo antea mense, auspiciis et aere invictissimorum Ferdinandi ac Elizabeth Hispaniarum Regum, missus fuerat: ad magnificum Dominum Raphaelem Sanctis, eorundem Serenissimorum Regum Thesaurarium, missa: quam generosus ac literatus vir Leonardus de Cosco ab hispano idiomate in latinum convertit; tertio Kalendas Maii MCCCCXCIII, Pontificatus Alex. VI, anno I.

Quoniam susceptæ provinciæ rem perfectam me consecutum fuisse gratum tibi fore scio, has constitui exarare, quæ te uniuscujusque rei in hoc nostro itinere gestæ inventæque admoneant. Tricesimo tertio die postquam Gadibus discessi, in mare indicum perveni, ubi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus reperi, quarum omnium pro felicissimo Rege nostro, præconio celebrato, et vexillis extensis, contradicente nemine, possessionem accepi: primæque earum Divi Salratoris nomen imposui, cujus fretus auxilio tam ad hanc quam ad ceteras alias pervenimus; eam vero Indi Guanahanyn vocant. Aliarum etiam unamquamque novo nomine nuncupavi: quippe aliam insulam Sanctæ

my departure from Cadiz ¹ I reached the Indian sea where I discovered many islands thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave a name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion, ² another Fernandina, ³ the third Isabella, ⁴ the fourth Juana, ⁵ and so with all the rest respectively. As soon as we arrived at that, which as I have said was named Juana,

Mariæ Conceptionis, aliam Fernandinam, aliam Isabelam, aliam Joannam, et sic de relequis appellari jussi. Quamprimum in eam insulam (quam dudum Joannam vocari dixi) appulimus; juxta ejus litus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi, tamque eam magnam mullo reperto fine inveni, ut non insulam sed continentem Cathai provinciam esse crediderim; nulla tamen videns oppida, municipiave in maritimis sita confinibus, præter aliquos vicos et prædia rustica, cum quorum incolis loqui nequibam; quare simul ac nos videbant, surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar ultra existimans aliquam

¹ A strange mistake has crept into the Latin versions of this letter; in all the editions of which it is stated that Cadiz was the point from which Columbus sailed on his first voyage. In the journal of that voyage, published by Mr. Navarrete, as well as in the accounts given by the Don Fernando, Columbus, and all other historians, it is distinctly said that he sailed from *Palos*, on the third of August. The question is important, not simply as affecting the correctness of the letter, but also the length of time in which the voyage was accomplished; for as Columbus reached the island of St. Salvador, or Guanahani, on the morning of the twelfth of October, it is apparent, that more than twice the number of days here mentioned, transpired between his leaving Spain and arriving at the West Indies. The mistake evidently consists in the word "*Gadibus*" having been by some circumstance, at which we can only guess, carelessly exchanged for Gomer, whence Columbus started, according to the journal, on the eighth of September, which leaves an interval exactly coinciding with the thirty-three days here mentioned.

² North Caico.

³ Little Inagua.

⁴ Great Inagua.

⁵ Cuba.

I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay. Seeing, however, no towns or populous places on the sea coast, but only a few detached houses and cottages, with whose inhabitants I was unable to communicate, because they fled as soon as they saw us, I went further on thinking that in my progress I should certainly find some city or village. At length, after proceeding a great way and finding that nothing new presented itself, and that the line of coast was leading us northwards (which I wished to avoid because it was winter, and it was my intention to move southwards; and because moreover the winds were contrary), I resolved not to attempt any further progress, but rather to turn back and retrace my course to a certain bay that I had observed, and from which I afterwards dispatched two of our men to ascertain whether there were a king or any cities in that province. These men reconnoitred the country for three days, and found a most numerous population, and

me urbem villasve inventurum: denique videns quod longe admodum progressis nihil novi emergebat, et hujusmodi via nos ad septentrionem deferbat (quod ipse fugere exoptabam, terris etenim regnabat bruma), ad austrumque erat in voto contendere nec minus venti flagitantibus succedebant; constitui alios non operire successus: et sic retrocedens, ad portum quemdam, quem signaveram, sum reversus; unde duos homines ex nostris in terram misi, qui investigarent, esset ne Rex in ea provincia urbesve aliquæ. Hi per tres dies ambularunt, inveniuntque innumeros populos et habitationes, parvas tamen et absque ullo regimine; quapropter redierunt. Interea ego jam intellexeram à quibusdam Indis, quos ibidem susceperam, quod hujusmodi provincia insula quidem erat: et sic perrexi orientemve rsus, ejus semper stringens litora, usque ad milliaria CCCXXII, ubi ipsius insule sunt extrema. Hinc aliam insulam ad orientem prospexi, distantem ab hac Joanna milliar, LIV, quam protinus Hispanam dixi, in eamque concessi, et direxi iter quasi per septentrionem, quemad-

great numbers of houses, though small and built without any regard to order : with which information they returned to us. In the mean-time I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized, that that country was certainly an island: and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, which brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I gave the name of Española ⁶, I went thither, and steered my course eastward as I had done at Juana, even to the distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles along the

modum in Joanna ad orientem, milliaria DLXIV. Quæ dicta Joanna et aliæ ibidem insule quam fertilissimæ existunt. Hæc multis atque tutissimis et latis, nec aliis quos unquam viderim comparandis portibus est circumdata : multi maxime et salubres hanc interfluunt fluvii : multi quoque et eminentissimi in ea sunt montes. Omnes hæ insulæ sunt pulcherrimæ, et variis distinctæ figuris, perviæ, et maxima arborum varietate sidera lambentium plenæ, quas nunquam foliis privari credo ; quippe vidi eas ita virentes atque decoras, ceu mense Maio in Hispania solent esse ; quarum aliæ florentes, aliæ fructuosæ, aliæ in alio statu, secundum uniuscujusque qualitatem vigeant. Garriabat philomela, et alii passerres varii ac innumeri, mense Novembri, quo ipse per eas deambulabam. Sunt præterea in dicta insula Joanna septem vel octo palmarum genera, quæ proceritate et pulchritudine, quemadmodum ceteræ omnes arbores, herbæ fructusque, nostras facile exsuperant. Sunt et mirabiles pinus, agri, et prata vastissima, variæ aves, varia mella, variaque metalla, ferra excepto. In ea autem, quam Hispanam supra diximus nuncupari, maximi sunt montes ac pulchri, vasta rura, nemora, campi feracissimi, seri pascique et condendis ædificiis aptissimi : portuum in hac insula commoditas et præstantia, fluminum copia, salubritate admixta hominum, quod, nisi quis viderit, credulitatem superat. Hujus arbores, pascua et fructus multum ab illis Joannæ differunt. Hæc præterea

⁶ Hispaniola or San Domingo.

north coast.⁷ This said island of Juana in exceedingly fertile, as indeed are all the others; it is surrounded with many bays, spacious, very secure, and surpassing any that I have ever seen; numerous large and healthful rivers intersect it, and it also contains many very lofty mountains. All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of scenery; they are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, and which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant

Hispana diverso aromatis genere, auro metallisque abundat. Hujus quidem et omnium aliarum, quas ego vidi et quarum cognitionem habeo incolæ utriusque sexus nudi semper incedunt, quemadmodum eduntur in lucem; præter aliquas feminas, quæ folio frondeve aliqua aut bombycino velo pudenda operiunt quod ipsæ sibi ad id negotii parant. Carent hi omnes (ut supra dixi) quocumque genere ferri: carent et armis, utpote sibi ignotis, nec ad eas sunt apti, non propter corporis deformitatem (quum sint bene formati), sed quia sunt timidi ac pleni formidine; gestant tamen pro armis arundines sole perustas, in quarum radicibus hastile quoddam ligneum siccum et in mucronem attenuatum figunt, neque his adtent jugiter uti: nam sæpe evenit, quum misserim duos vel tres homines ex meis ad aliquas villas, ut cum eorum loquerentur incolis, exisse agmen glomeratum ex Indis, et ubi nostros appropinquare videbant, fugam celeriter arripuisse, despretis à patre liberis et è contra; et hoc non quod cui-

⁷ Naverrete the learned and industrious compiler of these original letters, in his translation of this first letter from the Latin into the Spanish language, has mistakenly attributed to the proposition "per" the sense of the Spanish word "hacia" (towards), a meaning which can under no circumstances be given to the word, but in this case renders the passage unintelligible. The editor has translated "per septentrionem" "along the north coast" of the island, such a rendering of the preposition being perfectly grammatical, while it gives in the whole sentence a meaning consistent with the course which Columbus in reality took. These are, moreover, two sentences in the immediate context of the original, where, when the sense of "towards" is intended to be expressed, it is unmistakably given by the words "versus" and "ad."

and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May,—some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each ; yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable.

The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived there. There are besides in the same island of Juana seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which, like all the other trees, herbs, and fruits, considerably surpass ours in height and beauty. The pines also are very handsome, and there are very extensive fields and meadows, a variety of birds, different kinds of honey, and many sorts of metals, but no iron. In that island also which I have before said we named Española, there are mountains of very great size and beauty, vast plains, groves, and very beautiful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation. The convenience and excellence of the harbours in this island and the abun-

piam eorum damnum aliquod vel injuria illata fuerit, immo ad quoscumque appuli, et quibuscum verbum facere potui, quidquid habebam sum elargitus pannam aliaque permulta, nulla mihi facta versura ; sed sunt natura pavidī ac timidi. Ceterum ubi se cernunt tutos omni metu repulso, sunt admodum simplices ac bonæ fidei, et in omnibus quæ habent liberalissimi : roganti quod possidet inficiatur nemo, quin ipsi nos ad id poscendum invitant. Maximum erga omnes amorem præ se ferunt : dant quæque magna pro parvis, minima licet re nihilove contenti. Ego attamen prohibui, ne tam minima et nullius pretii hisce darentur, ut sunt lanceis, paropsidum vitique fragmenta : item clavi, lingulæ ; quamquam si hoc poterant adipisci, videbatur eis pulcherrima mundi possidere jocalia. Accidit enim quendam navitam tantum auri pondus habuisse pro una ligula, quanti sunt tres aurei solidi, et sic alios pro aliis minoris pretii, præsertim pro blanquis novis, et quibusdam nummis aureis, pro quibus habendis dabant quidquid petebat venditor, puta unciam cum

dance of the rivers, so indispensable to the health of man, surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it. The trees, herbage, and fruit of Española are very different from those of Juana, and moreover it abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and other metals. The inhabitants of both sexes in this island, and in all the others which I have seen, or of which I have received information, go always naked as they were born, with the exception of some of the woman, who use the covering of a leaf, or small bough, or an apron of cotton which they prepare for that purpose. None of them, as I have already said, are possessed of any iron, neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with, and indeed incompetent to use them, not from any deformity of body (for they are well-formed), but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry, however, in lieu of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point, and even these they dare not use habitually; for it has often occurred when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak

dimidia et duas auri; vel triginta et quidraginta bombycis pondo, quod ipsi jam noverant. Item arcuum, amphoræ, hydriæ, dolique fragmenta bombyci et auro tamquam bestiarum comparabant; quod quia iniquum sane erat, vetui, dedique eis multa pulchra et grata, quæ mecum tuleram, nullo interveniente præmio, ut eos mihi facilius conciliarem, fierentque Christicolæ, et ut sint proni in amorem erga Regem, Reginam Principesque nostros, et universas gentes Hispaniæ, ac studeant perquirere et coacervare, eaque nobis tradere quibus ipsi affluunt et nos magnopere indigemus. Nullum hi norunt idololatriam, immo firmissimè credunt omnem vim, omnem potentiam, omnia denique bona esse in cælo, meque inde cum his navibus et nautis descendisse; atque hoc animo ibi fui susceptus postquam metum repulerant. Nec sunt segnes aut rudes, quin summi ac perspicacis ingenii; et homines, qui transfretant mare illud, non sine admiratione uniuscujusque rei rationem reddunt; sed nunquam viderunt gentes vestitas, neque naves hujusmodi. Ego statim ac ad

with the natives, that they have come out in a disorderly troop, and have fled in such haste at the approach of our men, that the fathers forsook their children and the children their fathers. This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us ; for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return : but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon however as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have ; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves : they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I however forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, kegs, and leather straps,) should be given to them; although if they could obtain them, they imagine

mare illud perveni, é prima insula quosdam Indos violenter arripui, que edicerent à nobis, et nos pariter docerent ea quorum ipsi in hisce partibus cognitionem habebant, et ex voto successit : nam brevi nos ipsos, et hi nos tum gestu ac signis, tum verbis intellexerunt, magnoque nobis fuere emolumento. Veniunt modo mecum, tamen qui semper putant me desiluisse è cœlo, quamvis diu nobiscum versati fuerint, hodieque versentur, et hi erant primi, qui id quocumque appellebamus nunciabant, alii deinceps aliis elata voce dicentes, Venite, venite, et videbitis gentes æthereas. Quamobrem tam feminae quam viri tam impuberes quam adulti, tam juvenes quam senes, deposita formidine paulo ante concepta, nos certatim visebant magna iter stipante caterva, aliis cibum, aliis potum afferentibus, maximo cum amore ac benevolentia incredibili. Habet unaquæque insula multas scaphas solidi ligni, etsi angustas, longitudine tamen ac forma nostris biremibus similes, cursu autem velociores : reguntur remis tantum modo. Harum quaedam sunt magnæ, quaedam par-

themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins the Indians would give whatever the seller required; as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which commodity they were already acquainted. Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles and jars; which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the King and Queen, our Princes and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting, and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed. They

væ, quædam in medio consistunt: plures tamen biremi quæ remigent duodeviginti transtris majores, cum quibus in omnes illas insulas quæ innumeræ sunt trajicitur, cumque his suam mercaturam exercent, et inter eos commercia fiunt. Aliquas ego harum biremium seu scapharum vidi, quæ vehébant septuaginta et octoginta remiges. In omnibus his insulis nulla est diversitas inter gentis effigies, nulla in moribus atque loquela, quin omnes se intelligunt adinvicem, quæ res perutilis est ad id quod Serenissimum Regem nostrum exoptare præcipuè reor, scilicet eorum ad sanctam Christi fidem conversionem, cui quidem, quantum intelligere potui, facillimi sunt et proni. Dixi quemadmodum sum progressus antea insulam Joannam per rectum tramitem occassus in orientem milliar, CCCXXII. Secundum quam viam et intervallum itineris possum dicere hanc Joannam esse majorem Anglia et Scotia simul: namque ultra dicta CCCXXII milliaria in ea parte quæ ad occidentem prospectat duæ, quas non petii, supersunt provinciæ, quarum alteram

practice no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours. On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country; which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs, or by word, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still traveling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to the idea that I have descended from heaven: and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out

Indi Anam vocant, ejus accolæ caudate nascuntur. Tenduntur in longitudinem ad milliaria CLIII, ut ab his quos veho mecum Indis percepi, qui omnes has callent insulas. Hispanæ vero ambitus major est tota Hispania a Cologna usque ad Fontem Rabidum; hincque facile arguitur, quod quartum ejus latus, quod ipse per rectam lineam occidentis in orientem trajeci, milliaria continet DXL. Hæc insula est affectanda, et affectata, non spernenda, in qua, etsi aliarum omnium ut dixi pro invictissimo Rege nostro solemniter possessionem accepi, earumque imperium dicto Regi penitus committitur, in opportuniori tamen loco, atque omni lucro et commercio condecenti, cujusdam magnæ villæ cui Nativitatis Domini nomen dedimus, possessionem peculiariter accepi: ibique arcem quamdam erigere extemplo jussi, quæ modo jam debet esse peracta, in qua homines, qui necessarii sunt visi, cum omni armorum genere, et ultra annum victu opportuno reliqui; item quamdam caravelam, et pro aliis construendis tam in hac arte quam in ceteris peritos, ac ejusdem

immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race": upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness. Each of these islands has a great number of canoes, built of solid wood, narrow and not unlike our double-banked boats in length and shape, but swifter in their motion: they steer them only by the oar. These canoes are of various sizes, but the greater number are constructed with eighteen banks of oars, and with these they cross to the other islands, which are of countless number, to carry on traffic with the people. I saw some of these canoes that held as many as seventy-eight rowers. In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious of the realization of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene King, namely the conversion of these

insulæ Regis erga nos benevolentiam et familiaritatem incredibilem. Sunt enim gentes illæ amabiles admodum et benignæ, eo quod rex prædictus me fratrem suum dici gloriabatur. Et si animum revocarent et iis qui in acre manserunt nocere velint, nequeunt, quia armis carent, nudi incedunt, et nimium timidi: ideo dictam arcem tenentes dumtaxat possunt totam eam insulam nullo sibi imminente discrimine, dummodo leges quas dedimus ac regimen non excedant, facile detinere. In omnibus his insulis, ut intellexi, quisque uni tantum conjugii acquiescit, præter Principes aut Reges quibus viginti habere licet. Feminae magis quam viri laborare videntur, nec bene potui intelligere an habeant bona propria; vidi enim, quod unus habebat aliis impartiri, præsertim dapes, obsonia et hujusmodi. Nullum apud eos monstrum reperi, ut plerique existimabant, sed homines magnæ reverentiæ atque benignos. Nec sunt nigri velut æthiopes: habent crines planos ac demissos; non degunt ubi radiorum solaris emicat calor: permagna namque hic est

people to the holy faith of Christ, to which indeed, as far as I can judge, they are very favorable and well disposed. I said before, that I went three hundred and twenty-two miles in a direct line from west to east, along the coast of the island of Juana; * judging by which voyage, and the length of the passage, I can assert that it is larger than England and Scotland united; for independent of the said three hundred and twenty-two miles, there are in the western part of the island two provinces which I did not visit; one of these is called by the Indians Anam, and the inhabitants are born with

solis vehementia, propterea quod ab æquinoctiali linea distat (ut videtur) gradus sex et viginti. Ex montium cacuminibus maximum quoque viget frigus, sed id quidem moderant Indi tum loci consuetudine, tum rerum calidissimarum quibus frequenter luxuriosè vescuntur præsidio, Itaque monstra aliqua non vidi, neque eorum alicubi habui cognitionem, excepta quadam insula Charis nuncupata, quæ secunda ex Hispana in Indiam transfretantibus existit, quam gens quadam, à finitimis habita ferocior, incolit: hi carne humana vescuntur. Habent prædicti biremium genera plurima, quibus in omnes indicas insulas trajiciunt, deprædant, surripiuntque quæcumque possunt. Nihil ab aliis differunt, nisi quod gerunt more femineo longos crines, utuntur arcibus et spiculis arundineis, ut diximus, in gros-

8 Here a somewhat similar mistake to that which occurred in page four has been made by Navarrete, in his translation from the Latin; the accusative "insulam Joanam" comes after the neuter verb "progressus sum" without the intervention of a preposition; but it is evident from the sense that the missing word was intended to express that Columbus proceeded *along* the island; whereas Navarrete has translated it thus:

"He dicho que anduve en recta direccion de poniente à oriente trescientas veinte y dos millas para llegar a la isla Juanna." *Anglice*. I have said that I proceeded three hundred and twenty-two miles in a straight line from west to east *to arrive at* the island of Juana," a mode of proceeding which was in the first place geographically impossible, and in the next place would destroy the basis upon which Columbus founds his estimate of the size of the island, when compared with England and Scotland. There is no doubt that "per" is the preposition understood, while Mr. Navarrete has incautiously adopted "versus" instead of it.

tails. These provinces extend to a hundred and fifty-three miles in length, as I have learnt from the Indians whom I have brought with me, and who are well acquainted with the country. But the extent of Española is greater than all Spain from Catalonia to Fontarabia, which is easily proved, because one of its four sides which I myself coasted in a direct line, from west to east, measures five hundred and fifty miles. This island is to be regarded with especial interest, and not to be slighted; for although as I have said I took possession of all these islands in the name of our invincible King, and the government of them is unreservedly committed to his said Majesty, yet there was one large town in Española of which especially I took possession, situated in a remarkably favorable spot, and in every way convenient for the purpose of gain and commerce. To this town I gave the name of Navidad del Señor, and ordered a fortress to be built there, which must by this time be completed, in which

siori parte attenuatis hastilibus: ideoque habentur feroces: quare ceteri Indi inexhausto metu plectuntur: sed hos ego nihil facio plus quam alios. Hi sunt qui cœunt cum quibusdam feminis, quæ solæ insulam Mathenim primam ex Hispana in Indiam trajicientibus inhabitant. Hæ autem feminæ nullum sui sexus opus exercent: utuntur enim arcubus et spiculis, sicuti de earum conjugibus dixi, muniunt sese laminis æneis, quarum maxima apud eas copia existit. Aliam mihi insulam affirmant supradicta Hispana majorem; ejus incolæ carent pilis auroque inter alias potissimum exuberat. Hujus insulæ et aliarum, quas vidi, homines mecum porto, qui horum quæ dixi testimonium perhibent. Denique ut nostri discesus et ceteris reversionis compendium ac emolumentum brevibus astringam, hoc polliceor, me nostris Regibus invictissimis, parvo eorum, fultum auxilio, tantum auri daturum, quantum eis fuerit opus, tantum vero aromatum, bombycis, masticis, quæ apud Chium dumtaxat invenitur, tamque ligni aloes, tantum servorum hydrophilatorum, quantum eorum majestas voluerit exigere: item reubarbarum et aliorum aromatum genera, quæ ii

I left as many men as I thought necessary,⁹ with all sorts of arms, and enough provisions for more than a year. I also left them one caravel, and skillful workmen, both in ship-building and other arts, and engaged the favor and friendship of the King of the island in their behalf, to a degree that would not be believed, for these people are so amiable and friendly that even the King took a pride in calling me his brother. But supposing their feelings should become changed, and they should wish to injure those who have remained in the fortress, they could not do so, for they have no arms, they go naked, and are moreover too cowardly ; so that those who hold the said fortress, can easily keep the whole island in check without any pressing danger to themselves, provided

quos in dicta arce reliqui, jam invenisse atque inventuros existimo : quando quidem ego nullibi magis sum moratus (nisi quantum me coegerunt venti) præterquam in villa Nativitatis, dum arcem condere, et tuta omnia esse providi. Quæ etsi maxima et inaudita sunt multo tamen majora forent, si naves mihi, ut ratio exigit, subvenissent. Verum multum ac mirabile hoc nec nostris meritis correspondens, sed sanctæ christianæ fidei, nostrorumque regum pietati ac religioni, quia, quod humanus consequi non poterat intellectus, id humanis concessit divinus. Solet enim Deus servos, quinque sua præcepta diligunt, etiam in impossibilibus exaudire, ut nobis in præsentia contigit, qui consecuti sumus, quæ hæc-

9 There appears to be a doubt as to the exact number of men left by Columbus at Espanola, different accounts variously giving it as thirty-seven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, and forty. There is, however, a list of their names included in one of the diplomatic documents, printed in Navarrete's work, which makes the number amount to forty, independent of the governor Diago de Arana, and his two lieutenants Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo. All these men were Spaniards, with the exception of two ; one an Irishman named William Ires, a native of Galway, and one an Englishman, whose name was given as Tallarte de Lajes, but whose native designation is difficult to guess at. The document in question, was a proclamation to the effect that the heirs of those men should, on presenting at the office of public business at Seville, sufficient proof of their being the next of kin, receive payment in conformity with the royal order to that purpose, issued at Burgos, on the twentieth of December, 1507.

they do not transgress the directions and regulations which I have given them. As far as I have learned, every man throughout these islands is united to but one wife, with the exception of the kings and princes, who are allowed to have twenty: the women seem to work more than the men. I could not clearly understand whether the people possess any private property, for I observed that one man had the charge of distributing various things to the rest, but especially meat and provisions and the like. I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals amongst them, but on the contrary men of great deference and kindness. Neither are they black, but like the Ethiopians: for they do not dwell where the rays of the sun strike most vividly, and the sun has intense power there, the distance from the equinoctial line being, it appears, but six-and-twenty degrees. On the tops of the mountains the cold is very great, but the effect of this upon the Indians is lessened by their being accustomed to the climate, and by their frequently indulging in the use of very hot meats and drinks. Thus, as I have already said, I

tenus mortalium vires minimè attigerant; nam si harum insularum quidpiam aliqui scripserunt aut locuti sunt, omnes per ambages et conjecturas, nemo se eas vidisse asserit: unde prope videbatur fabula. Igitur Rex et Regina, Principes, ac eorum regna felicissima, cunctæque aliqæ Christianorum provinciæ, Salvatori Domino nostro Jesu Christo agamus gratias, qui tanta nos victoria munereque donavit.

Celebrentur processiones, peragantur, solmenia sacra, festaque fronde velentur delubra. Exsultet Christus in terris, quemadmodum in cœlis exsultat, quam tot populorum perditas antehac animas salvatum iri prævidet. Laetemur et nos, tum propter exaltationem nostræ fidei, tum propter rerum temporalium incrementa, quorum non solum Hispania, sed universa Christianitas est futura particeps. Hæc gesta sic breviter enarrata. Vale. Ulisbonæ pridie dus Martii.

Christoforus Colom,

Oceanæ classis præfectus.

saw no cannibals, nor did I hear of any, except in a certain island called Charis,¹⁰ which is the second from Española on the side towards India, where dwell a people who are considered by the neighbouring islanders as most ferocious: and these feed upon human flesh. The same people have many kinds of canoes, in which they cross to all the surrounding islands and rob and plunder whatever they can; they are not different from the other islanders, except that they wear their hair long, like women, and make use of the bows and javelins of cane, with sharpened spear-points fixed on the thickest end, which I have before described, and therefore they are looked upon as ferocious, and regarded by the other Indians with unbounded fear; but I think no more of them than of the rest. These are the men who form unions with certain women, who dwell alone in the island Matenin, which lies next to Española on the side towards India; these latter employ themselves in no labour suitable to their own sex, for they use bows and javelins as I have already described their paramours as doing, and for defensive armour have plates of brass, of which metal they possess great abundance. They assure me that there is another island larger than Española, whose inhabitants have no hair, and which abounds in gold more than any of the rest. I bring with me individuals of this island and of the others that I have seen, who are proofs of the facts which I state. Finally, to compress into few words the entire summary of my voyage and speedy return, and of the advantages derivable there-from, I promise, that with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and of mastic (which is only found in Chios), and as many men for the service of the navy as their Majesties may require. I promise also rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already and will continue to find; for I myself have tarried no where longer than I was compelled to do by the winds, except in the city of Navidad, while I provided for the build-

10 One of the Virgin Islands—which, is uncertain.

ing of the fortress, and took the necessary precautions for the perfect security of the men I left there. Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing if I had at my disposal such ships as I required. But these great and marvellous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith, and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the spirit of God has granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants who love his precepts even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men had never hitherto attained; for if they had been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubt and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables. Therefore let the King and Queen, and our princes and their most happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made, and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us all rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith, as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain, but all Christendom will be partakers. Such are the events which I have briefly described. Farewell, Lisbon, the 14th of March.

Christopher Columbus,
Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.

NARRATIVES, LETTERS

AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

CONCERNING THE FOUR VOYAGES.

MADE BY

THE ADMIRAL, DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

for the discovery

OF THE WEST INDIES.

Translated from Navarrete's "COLECCION DE LOS VIAJES Y
DESCUBRIMIENTOS,"

BY
MARC F. VALLETTE, LL. D.

THIS IS THE FIRST VOYAGE.

The following is a *free translation* of the Spanish text: this will account for the peculiar expressions that will occur from time to time.

The tacks and course made by the Admiral D. Christopher Columbus when he discovered the Indies, summarily set down, ¹ without the Prologue he made to the Kings, which is word for word and begins in this manner :

IN NOMINE D. N. JESU CHRISTI.

Whereas, most Christian, most high, most excellent and most powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains, and of the islands of the sea, our Sovereigns, this present year 1492, after Your Highnesses had put an end to war with the Moors who ruled in Europe, and had ended the war in the very great city of Granada, where, in this present year, on the second day of the month of January, I saw by force of arms, the royal standards of Your Highnesses raised upon the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of said city, and I saw the Moorish King pass forth from the gates of the city, and kiss the Royal hands of Your Highnesses and of my lord the Prince, and immediately in that same month, through information given by me to Your Highnesses of the countries of India, and of a Prince called the Great Khan, which means in our language, King of Kings ; how that many times, he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to solicit doctors of our holy faith that he might be instructed in the same ; ² and that the Holy Father had never furnished

1 Fra Bartolome de las Casas, from whose original this letter is taken, had many documents written by Columbus himself, and from which he wrote his " *Historia de las Indias* " and also compiled the account of this voyage together with the Prologue as published above.

2 Paolo Toscanelli also gave this information of the Great Khan to the Canon of Lisbon. Fernando Martinez, in a letter written from Florence on June 25th 1474, taking it from what Marco Polo relates in the Prologue and other places in the report of his voyage. Toscanelli sent a copy of this letter to Columbus, when the latter consulted him on his intention of sailing west to reach India. See *Hist. de Hern. Colon*, cap VII.

them, and thus so many people were lost, believing in idolatry, and receiving among them doctrines of perdition ; therefore, Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians, and princes, lovers of the holy Christian faith, and promoters thereof, and enemies of the Mahometan sect, and of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see the said Princes, people and territories, and to learn their nature and disposition, and the means to be employed in converting them to our holy faith ; and commanded that I should not go by land to the East, by which route it has been customary to go in safety, but by a Westerly route, by which there is until now, no certain evidence that any one has gone. Thus, after having expelled all Jews from your Kingdoms and territories in the same month of January, Your Highnesses commanded me with a sufficient armament, to proceed to said parts of India, ³ and for this purpose bestowed upon me great largesses and ennobled me, so that thenceforward I should be called Don and be High Admiral of the seas, and perpetual Viceroy and Governor of all the islands and continents I should discover and gain ; and which thenceforward may be discovered or gained, and that they should descend to my eldest son and thus in regular succession from generation to generation for all time to come. I set out therefore, from the city of Granada on the 12th day of May of the same year, 1492, on Saturday. I came to the city of Palos, a seaport, where I armed three vessels well calculated for such service, and sailed from said port, well supplied with provisions and many seamen on Friday the third of August, of the said year, half an hour before sunrise, and steered for Your Highnesses Canary Islands, which are in the said ocean, there to begin my course and continue sailing until I reached the Indies, and delivered Your Highnesses, embassy to these Princes and

3 This is not clear. Although the Kings had made up their minds for a long time before to expel the jews, they did not publish their decree until March 30th, 1492, and if they began to treat with Columbus after their entrance into Granada, they did not conclude their arrangement with him April 17th. This will explain what is here stated.

thus comply with the orders I had received. For this reason I resolved to write during this voyage very punctually, day by day, setting down all I did and all I saw and all that happened, as will be seen further on. Moreover, my Sovereign Princes, beside describing each night the occurrences of the day, and each day the navigation of the night, I propose to make a new sailing chart, on which I shall indicate all the seas and lands of the Ocean sea in their proper places, and under their bearings, and further to make a book and illustrate the whole in picture, by latitude from the equinoctial, and longitude from the west, and above all it is important that I forget sleep and attend closely to navigation to accomplish these things, which will be a great labor.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3d.

We set out on Friday August 3d 1492, from the bar of Saltes ⁴ at 8 o'clock and sailed under a strong breeze, until sunset, in a southerly direction, sixty miles, which are fifteen leagues; ⁵ then southeast and south, quarter S. E., which was the course to the Canaries.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th.

Sailed S. E., quarter S.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 5th.

Followed our course night and day for more than fifty leagues.

MONDAY, AUGUST 6th.

The rudder of the caravel Pinta, in which Martin Alonzo Pinzon was, became broken or unhung, which was surmised to have been done through the contrivance of the owners of the caravel, Gomez Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, because they regretted having gone on that voyage; and says the Admiral, that before sailing they had manifested considerable dissatisfaction. The Admiral was greatly disturbed by this occurrence, as he could not render assistance without endan-

⁴ *Saltes*. A small island formed by the arms of the Odiel, in front of the town of Huelva.

⁵ Columbus reckoned in Italian miles which are shorter than Spanish miles. It requires four of these to make a league.

gering his own vessel, and he adds that he was relieved of much anxiety, inasmuch as Martin Alonzo Pinzon was an adroit and able seaman ; finally they sailed, between day and night a distance of twenty nine leagues.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7th.

The fastenings of the rudder of the Pinta again gave way ; it was repaired and they made for the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries ; and between day and night the fleet made twenty-five leagues.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8th.

There was a diversity of opinion among the pilots of the three caravels as to where they were ; and the Admiral's superiority in taking observations prevailed, and he desired to reach the Great Canaries, there to leave the caravel Pinta which had her rudder disabled and was in a leaky condition, and replace her if possible ; they were unable to accomplish this at that time.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 9th.

The Admiral did not succeed until Sunday in making Gomera, and Martin Alonzo remained on the coast of the Great Canary, by command of the Admiral, because he was unable to proceed. Later on the Admiral pushed on to Canaria (or Tenerife) where the Pinta was repaired with much trouble and diligence on the part of the Admiral, Martin Alonzo and the others ; and finally they reached Gomera. They beheld great volumes of flames issuing from the peak of Tenerife, which is very lofty. The fore and aft sails of the Pinta were squared ; he returned to Gomera on Sunday September 2d, with the Pinta repaired.

The Admiral says that many honorable Spaniards who were at Gomera with Doña Ines Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza, who subsequently became first Count of Gomera and whose neighbors from the island of Ferro swore that every year they saw land to the West of the Canaries ; which is towards the setting sun ; and others from Gomera affirmed the same also with oaths. The Admiral here relates that he

remembers that while in Portugal, in the year 1484, there came one from the isle of Madera to the King to solicit from him a caravel that he might go to this land he saw ; which he declared he saw every year, and in the same position: he also says that he remembers that the same was said in the Azores Islands, and all these were in the same direction, after the manner of a signal, and of some size. ⁶ Having taken wood, water and provisions, and replacing the men he had left in Gomera when he went to the Canary Islands to repair the *Pinta*, he finally set sail from the island of Gomera, with his three caravels on Thursday the 6th of September.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6th.

The Admiral sailed this morning from this part of Gomera and steered on his course, and learned from a caravel that came from the island of Ferro, that three caravels from Portugal were cruising in those waters to capture him. He attributed this to revenge on the part of the King because he had gone to Castile ; he was becalmed all that day and night, and in the morning he found himself between Gomera and Tenerife.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th.

All Friday and Saturday until three o'clock in the afternoon the vessels were becalmed.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th.

At three o'clock on Saturday afternoon a N. E. wind sprang up and he took his way and course to the West ; he encountered much head sea which delayed his progress, and that day and night he sailed nine leagues.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th.

Made nineteen leagues this day, and he resolved to count

⁶ By the death of Ferman Peraza in 1452 the seigniorship of the Canaries devolved upon his daughter Dona Ines, who was married to Diego de Herrera, and her title was confirmed by the King Don Enrique IV, on September 28th, 1454. Even so far back as that, the Admiral tells us, the inhabitants of Gomera and Ferro saw a land to the west, which was claimed to be the imaginary island of *San Borondon*. These illusions were persisted in by the common people long after they had been exploded by the vain searches of the most experienced navigators.

less than he had gone so that his people might not be alarmed if the voyage proved long. During the night, made one hundred and twenty miles, at the rate of ten miles an hour, which is thirty leagues. The men steered badly, falling off a quarter to N. E., and even a half point: for which the Admiral reproved them many times.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th.

Made this day and night sixty leagues, at the rate of ten miles an hour, which is two leagues and a half; but he did not count more than forty eight leagues, so that the crew might not be alarmed if the voyage proved long.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th.

Kept to the course, which was West, and sailed twenty leagues and more; and saw a large piece of the mast of a ship of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, but was not able to secure it. During the night made nearly twenty leagues, but counted only sixteen, for reasons already stated.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th.

To-day followed regular course, making thirty three leagues, day and night, but counted less for said reason.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th.

Made this day with its night, following course due West, thirty-three leagues, but counted three or four less. Encountered head seas. On this day, at about nightfall the needle varied to the N. W., and on the following morning still more so. *

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th.

Course W. Sailed day and night some twenty leagues, counted less. Here those on the caravel Niña said they saw a heron and a water-wagtail, and these birds are not supposed to venture more than twenty-five miles out to sea.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th.

Sailed this day and night twenty-seven and more leagues due West, and in the early part of the night saw a marvelous

* This was the first time he observed the magnetic variation.

flame of fire fall from the sky, into the sea, some four or five leagues distant.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16th.

Steered West and sailed this day and night thirty-nine leagues, but counted only thirty-six ; the day was somewhat cloudy, with showers. The Admiral observes that from this day forward they encountered temperate breezes ; that the mornings were delightful ; that nothing was wanting but the song of the nightingale. He remarked that the weather was like April in Andalusia. They now began to see large patches of herbs, some so green as to have apparently been recently washed from land, from which they judged that they must be near some island ; ⁷ but not terra firma, because as the Admiral said : *terra firma is further on.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17th.

Steered West and sailed day and night over fifty leagues ; reported only forty-seven ; the current helped them on ; saw a great many of weeds, and very often ; these weeds had been detached from rocks and came from the West. They were of opinion that land was near. ⁸ The pilots took observations and found that the needle now wested a full quarter ; they were terrified, and they could not account for it. The Admiral saw it and ordered the needle to be tested ; the needle was found to be correct ; the cause was due to the movement of the North Star itself and not to the needle. ⁹ At the dawn of this Monday they saw many more weeds which resembled those produced by rivers. On one of these patches was a live crab which the Admiral carefully preserved

⁷ This suspicion was not without foundation, as they were approaching some breakers laid down in our charts as seen in 1802.

⁸ At this point they were still forty leagues W. of the breakers.

⁹ The ingenious Columbus who was the first to notice the variation, did all in his power to dispel the fears of his crew, and explained to them the cause of the phenomenon. This we are assured of by his historian Munoz, and it was true, as is seen in the observations he made on his third voyage, upon the variations of the needle. The surprise and anxiety of the pilots and sailors is a clear proof that up to that time no one had noticed this variation of the needle.

and said that these were certain signs of land, because they are not to be found beyond eighty leagues from shore ; they found the water of the sea less salt than when they left the Canaries ; the breezes were always balmy ; the crews were all in high spirits : each ship strove to get the advance eager to discover land first : many tunny fish were seen and one was killed by the crew of the Pinta. The Admiral here remarked that these signs were from the West ; where I trust that the Most High God in Whose hands are all victories, will soon give us land. On that morning he says he saw a white bird called the Wagtail, that does not sleep on the sea.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th.

Sailed this day and night and made more than fifty-five leagues, but only forty-eight were reported. During all these days the sea was as calm as the river Seville. On this day, Martin Pinzon with the Pinta, which was a fast-sailer, did not delay, because he informed the Admiral from his own caravel that he had seen a great multitude of birds fly towards the setting sun, and that he expected to see land that night, * and for this reason he sailed so rapidly. There appeared in the North a cloudiness which is a sign of proximity to land.

* Breakers were seen in the West, twenty leagues distant.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th.

Followed our course, and between day and night made twenty-five leagues: because there was a calm; reported twenty-two. On this day, at ten o'clock there flew on board this vessel a booby, and in the afternoon another; these birds are not wont to fly more than twenty leagues from shore;¹⁰ there were also drizzling showers without wind; which are a sure indication of land; the Admiral did not wish to grope blindly from point to point of the compass in search of land: moreover, he was certain that to starboard or larboard (north or south) there must be some islands, as in fact there were, and he was sailing among them: because his will was to sail along to the Indies, and the weather was fine, and because, please God, these islands would be seen on their return; these are his words. Here the pilots discovered their bearings; the one on the *Niña* found himself to be four hundred and forty leagues from the Canaries: the one on the *Pinta*, four hundred and twenty, and the one on the Admiral's vessel exactly four hundred.¹¹

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20th.

Steered to-day W quarter N. W., and half a point; because the wind veered, with light breezes to S. W., the calm was so great that the vessels made only seven or eight leagues. Two boobies came on board: and later on, another, which was a sign of being near land, and there were many weeds too, which had not been seen for a day or two past. The men caught a bird with their hands, which seemed like a river bird and its feet were like the sea gull's. At dawn there came two or three little singing birds which disappeared in the evening, later on came a booby; it came from the W. N. W., and flew to the S. W., which indicated that there was land to the W. N. W, because these birds sleep on land and in the morning go to sea to seek their sustenance; but they do not go out more than twenty leagues.

¹⁰ They were about ten leagues from the breakers.

¹¹ This is exactly the distance indicated by the Admiral.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21st.

To-day there was a profound calm, and later on light winds : sailed day and night due course and hardly made thirteen leagues. At dawn so many weeds appeared that the sea seemed to be covered with them, and they came from the West : saw a booby ; the sea is as calm as a river, and the air the balmiest in the world ; saw a whale, which is a sign that they were in the vicinity of land, because these animals generally go near the land. ¹²

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22d.

Sailed W. N. W., more or less, inclining to one side or the other ; made thirty leagues ; few weeds to be seen ; saw some sand pipers and other birds : had head winds. Here the Admiral says : *This head wind was very necessary to me, for my crew had grown much alarmed, ¹³ lest they should never meet in these seas with a fair wind to return to Spain :* part of the day there were no weeds : later they became very thick.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23d.

Sailed N. W., and at times a quarter N., at others in regular course, which was W., and made twenty-two leagues ; saw a turtle and a booby, and another river bird ; and other white birds ; the weeds were very plentiful, and there were crabs in them ; and as the sea was calm the crew murmured, saying that there were no high seas in that region and that there would never be wind enough to take them back to Spain ; but later on a high sea came on but no wind, which surprised them, at which the Admiral says here : *thus the high sea became very necessary to me, for it was like unto the miraculous aid Moses received when leading the mutinous Jews out of captivity.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24th.

Kept on our course due W., this day and night, made fourteen leagues and a half ; recorded twelve : a booby came on board ; saw many gray sand pipers.

¹² The Admiral's judgment was well founded, for he was sailing north of the said breakers, four leagues distant.

¹³ Here the crew began to murmur at the long voyage — Casas.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25th.

Calm part of the day ; followed by winds ; kept on course due W., until night. The Admiral held a conversation with Martin Alonso Pinzon, captain of the caravel the Pinta, about a chart he had sent him about three days before to the caravel, on which it appears the Admiral had drawn certain islands in that sea, ¹⁴ and Martin Alonso declared they were in that vicinity, and the Admiral replied that he was of the same opinion ; but, as they had not come upon them, it must be due to the currents which had driven the ships to the N E., and that they had not made the distance the pilots thought they had. At this point the Admiral desired the said chart sent to him, and on it being thrown to him at the end of a lanyard, the Admiral began to pore over it with his pilot and sailors : at sunset Martin Alonso, who had gone up on the quarter deck of his vessel, called out with great joy to the Admiral, to give him the reward for the good news, for he saw land, and when the Admiral heard him declare this he fell upon his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonso with his crew repeated *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, as did the crew of the Admiral, while the crew of the Niña all climbed up the masts, and rigging, and declared that they saw land ; and it so appeared to the Admiral, and that it was distant twenty-five leagues : all maintained, until night that they saw land ; and the Admiral ordered the course to be changed from W., to S W., where the land appeared to be : they had sailed that day four leagues and a half, and during the night seventeen leagues S W., which made twenty-one in all, but he showed the crew only thirteen leagues ; as he always pretended to the crew that they had gone a short distance so they would not think the journey long. so that he kept two logs of that voyage ; the shorter one was the feigned one ; and the longer the correct one. The sea continued so calm that many of the crew jumped overboard and began to swim ; they saw many flying fish and other species.

¹⁴ This chart drawn by the Admiral, could not help being like the one Toscanelli sent to Lisbon in 1474.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

Kept on course due W., until after mid-day. Thence sailed S. W., until they became convinced that what they had taken for land was nothing but clouds: sailed day and night, thirty-one leagues, and only twenty-four were reported to the crew. The sea was as calm as a river: the breeze soft and balmy.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27th.

Kept on course due W., and made, day and night twenty-four leagues; twenty reported to the crew; saw many flying fish, killed one; saw a bunch of sea-weed.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28th.

Kept on course due W., made, day and night, with calms, fourteen leagues; recorded thirteen; saw few weeds; caught two flying fish; the other vessels caught more.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th.

Kept on course due W., and made twenty-four leagues; (reported twenty-one to the crew), because of calm day and night, made but little head way. Some fork-tails came on board. These birds compel the boobies to vomit what they have eaten so as to eat it themselves afterwards, and they live on nothing else. They are sea birds, but they do not rest on the sea, nor do they go beyond twenty leagues from the shore; they are very numerous in the vicinity of the Cape Verde islands: later on saw two boobies; the breezes were gentle and balmy, and there lacked only the song of the nightingale: the sea as calm as a river: three more boobies were seen at three different times: saw another fork-tail and many weeds.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th.

Course due W., sailed day and night only fourteen leagues, owing to calm, reported only eleven: saw four bunches of rushes, which is a strong evidence of land; so many birds of a kind together indicate that they are neither strayed nor lost; saw four boobies at two different times, and many weeds. *Note:* The stars called the "Guardians," which at evening appeared

in a westerly direction, were seen in the N E., the next morning, which shows that during the whole night, they had progressed only three lines, which are nine hours and this was the case every night, as says the Admiral. At night the needle varied a point to the N W., in the morning they were true; by which it appears that the Pole star moves, like the others, and the needles are always right.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1st.

Kept on course due W., and sailed twenty-five leagues; showed the crew only twenty; had a heavy rain. The Admiral's pilot found at daybreak, they had gone five hundred and seventy-eight leagues west from Ferro Islands: the lesser reckoning which the Admiral showed the crew was five hundred and eighty-four leagues, but the true reckoning was seven hundred and seven.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2d.

Kept on due W., and, day and night, made thirty-nine leagues; showed the crew only thirty leagues; sea still calm and good, "*Many thanks to God*," here said the Admiral: weeds floated from E., to W., contrary to what was usual; saw many fish; saw a white bird which resembled a gull.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3d.

Sailed usual course and made forty-seven leagues; showed the crew forty: saw sand pipers, many weeds, some very old and some quite green with berries on them; later on saw no birds. The Admiral thought he had passed the islands indicated on his chart. The Admiral here said that he did not alter his course last week, nor these days when there were so many signs of land, although he knew of certain islands in that vicinity, so as not to delay, as his aim was to reach the Indies, and it would not be wise to delay.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4th.

Kept course due W., and sailed, day and night, sixty-three leagues; showed the crew only forty-six; four sand pipers and two boobies came on board together, and one of

the crew of the caravel struck one of them ; a forktail came on board, also a white bird like a gull.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5th.

Kept on our course making eleven miles an hour ; made day and night, forty-seven leagues, because the wind fell after night : showed the crew forty-five ; the sea calm and peaceful. God be thanked. The air is very mild and temperate ; no weeds ; sand-pipers ; many flying fish came on board.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th.

Kept on to the W., and made forty leagues between day and night ; reported thirty-three to the crew. Martin Alonso proposed to stand one quarter to the W S W., and the Admiral thought that Martin Alonso urged this on account of the island of Cipango, and yet the Admiral saw that if they missed it they could not reach land so soon, and that it would be better to make for the mainland at once, and go to the islands afterwards.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7th.

Sailed usual course W., and made twelve miles an hour for two hours, and subsequently eight miles an hour and made twenty-three leagues ; reported only eighteen to the crew. At sunrise, the caravel Niña, being a good sailer, was in the lead ; every one was on the lookout to catch the first sight of land, so as to gain the reward the King had promised to him who should see it first ; the Niña hoisted a flag to her mast-head, discharged a bomb, this being the preconcerted signal for the discovery of land. The Admiral also ordered that at sunrise and sunset the vessels should keep near to him as at these times the state of the atmosphere is most favorable to the discovery of distant land. As the day advanced, however, the crew of the Niña realized that they had been mistaken in what they took to be land, and which they believed was then near because of the flight of birds going from N., to S W., and which the crew seemed to think were seeking some resting place, or that they were fleeing, perhaps from the rigors of winter. The Admiral knew the importance

the Portuguese navigators attached to the flight of birds. He determined, therefore, to alter his course to the W S W., and keep that course for two days. This he did one hour before sunset. They made during the night some five leagues and twenty-three during the day, making in all twenty-eight leagues.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8th.

Kept to W S W., and between day and night made eleven and a half or twelve leagues, and at times, during the night, made fourteen miles an hour, if the record does not lie; the sea was like the river at Seville; "Thanks be to God," says the Admiral. The air is as mild as in April in Seville, and it is a pleasure to enjoy it, it is so fragrant. Weeds appear fresh and green. Many field birds were seen, one was caught as it was going to the S. W., such as herons, pelicans and ducks.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9th.

Sailed S. W., made five leagues, wind changed, blew W. by N., made four leagues; made day and night, twenty-one and a half leagues; told the crew seventeen leagues; birds were seen passing throughout the whole night.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10th.

Kept on W. S. W., made ten miles an hour, and sometimes twelve, and again seven, and between day and night fifty-nine leagues; reported to the crew only forty-four. At this point the crew broke forth into complaints, they murmured at the long voyage, but the Admiral pacified them as best he could by promises of large rewards. He told them it was vain to murmur, that he had come to seek the Indies, and happen what might, he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God he had succeeded.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11th.

Kept W. S. W., more sea on than had been during the whole voyage: saw a sand-piper and some green rushes close to the ship. The crew of the Pinta picked up a reed, and a log; then a staff that had been carved or cut with iron, and a small board, and some weeds that grew on dry land. The

crew of the Niña also noticed other signs of land ; a stick covered with dog-rose. Made this day, up to nightfall, twenty-seven leagues.

After sundown kept due W., made twelve miles an hour, and by two hours after midnight had made ninety miles, which is twenty-two and a half leagues. The Pinta being a fast sailer kept ahead of the Admiral, and discovered land and made the signals the Admiral had ordered in such a case. This land was seen first by a sailor called Rodrigo de Triana. The Admiral at ten o'clock at night being on top of the castle or cabin, on the high poop of his vessel, saw a light, but so dim that he feared he might be deceived ; he called Pedro Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bed chamber, and told him it looked like a light, and to look at it himself ; which he did, and saw it ; he also told Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the King and Queen had sent with the fleet as a comptroller, but he failed to see it because of his position. The Admiral said he saw it once or twice afterwards, as if it were a little tallow candle that rose and sank on the waves, and which impressed a few as being an indication of land. But the Admiral felt sure that he was close to land. Where upon, when, as was the invariable custom, the sailors had sung the *Salve Regina*, the Admiral made an impressive address to the crew, and ordered them to keep a strict watch from the forecastle, and promised to the first man who should see land, a doublet of silk in addition to the largesses promised by the Sovereigns, which was an annuity of ten thousand *maravedis*. Two hours after midnight land was seen, about two leagues off. Sail was taken in and the vessels lay to awaiting the dawn of Friday, when they found themselves near the Island of Lucayas, called in the Indian language *Guamahani*. Then were seen people entirely naked, and the Admiral entered his own boat, and Martin Alonso Pinzon and Vicente Anse (or Yanez), his brother, who was captain of the Niña, entered theirs. The Admiral held aloft the standard, and the captains displayed two banners emblazoned with a green cross, which the Admiral carried on all his vessels as banners of the enterprise. These had on either

side the letters F and Y, (the initials of the monarchs, Fernando and Ysabel), surmounted by the crown, one at one extreme of the ✚ and the other at the other. On nearing the shore they saw trees that were very green, and many streams of water, and fruits in great varieties. The Admiral called to the two captains and the crews to leap ashore, and to Rodrigo Descovedo, Notary of the Armada, and Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and called upon them to take oath of obedience to him, and to bear witness that he, in the presence of all, as he now did, before all others, took solemn possession of the island in the name of the King and Queen, his Sovereigns, complying with the required forms and ceremonies. Then there gathered around him a large number of the inhabitants of the island. What now follows are the precise words of the Admiral in his book, on his first voyage of discoveries of these Indies. "I" (he says), to gain their friendship, because I recognized that they were a people that form the gentleness of their disposition could be more easily converted to our Holy Faith by love than by fear; I gave some of them red caps, glass beads which they put around their necks, and other trifles which seemed to them of inestimable value. They afterwards came out to the ships in which we were, some swimming, others in light barks, bringing parrots and cotton yarn in large and small balls, and many other things, which they exchanged with us for glass beads and hawk's bells. Indeed, they took everything and gave us what they had with the greatest good will. But they appeared to me to be a people poor in everything. They went about as naked as when they were born, as did also the women, of whom I saw but one, quite young and beautifully formed. All the natives I saw were gentle and none seemed to be over thirty years of age; they were well shaped, moderate in stature; and had agreeable features; their hair was almost as coarse as horse hair and short, partly cut short above the ears while some locks were left long behind, and falling upon their shoulders. Some paint themselves black; they are of the color of the natives of the Canary Islands, neither black nor white. They paint themselves in every variety of colors;

some paint only a portion of the face and some the entire body. They have no weapons nor do they know their use, and when I showed them our swords they grasped them by the blades and cut themselves with the sharp edges, not knowing any better. They have no iron; their lances are hardened at the end by fire, or pointed at the end with flint or the teeth or bone of a fish. I saw some of them who bore scars of wounds upon their bodies, and I asked them, by signs, what this meant. They made known to me that people came from neighboring islands and tried to carry them off, and that they defended themselves. I thought, and still believe, that these men came from the mainland. They must make good servants and be quite apt, as I see that they very soon say what they are told to say, and it seems to me that they can readily be made Christians; I have not noticed any religion among them. Please the Lord, when I leave here I shall take six of these natives to your Highness, so that they may learn our language. There is no kind of wild beasts, only parrots, on this island." All this was said by the Admiral.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13th.

"At break of day the shore was thronged with people all young, as I have already said, and all of good stature, fine looking; their hair not crisped but straight and coarse like horse hair, head and forehead broader than I have ever seen in any other people; eyes fine and large: none are dark hued, but of the color of the inhabitants of the Canaries, which is to be expected as this island is on a line W S W., from the Isle of Ferro, one of the Canaries. Their limbs are straight, and not with prominent bellies, but were well formed. They came to the ship in canoes formed from a single trunk of a tree, like a long boat, all in one piece and hollowed out very ingeniously for that country, and large enough to hold forty or forty-five men; others were smaller, some holding only one man. They rowed with paddles that looked like a baker's peel, and managed their canoes very dexterously, and if they overturned they swam about in the water, with perfect ease, righting their canoes with great facility and baling them with

calabashes, which they had with them. They brought with them cotton yarn and parrots and wooden lances, and other trifles, too tedious to mention, and they gave them all for anything that was offered them. I was anxious to learn whether they had any gold, as I noticed that some of the natives had rings hanging from holes in their noses, and by signs they gave me to understand that to the south there dwelt a king who had large vessels of wrought gold, and that he had a great quantity. I tried to get them to go for some, but they could not understand they were to go. I determined to wait until the morrow in the afternoon and then sail S W., for, many of them told me that there was a land to the south, as well as to the southwest and to the northwest; and that people from the last mentioned quarter frequently went to the southwest in quest of gold and precious stones.

This island is very large and flat, well wooded, with abundant streams of water and a large lake in the centre; there are no mountains, but everything is so green that it is pleasing to the eye. These people so gentle, and so eager to procure what we have and think they must always give something in return but when they have nothing to give, they take what is given them, and swim after our vessel. But, whatever they have they give freely for any thing that is given them; they even gathered fragments of earthenware and of glass as invaluable prizes; I saw exchanged sixteen balls of cotton yarn for three Portuguese *ceutes*; ¹⁵ these balls are equal to twenty-five pounds of cotton yarn. This traffic I forbade and would not permit any one to engage in it reserving all traffic in the merchandise for your Highnesses, if a sufficient quantity can be procured. It is raised on this island, but in the short time I have been here, I cannot be too sure about it. The gold they wear in their noses is also found here: not to lose time, I have determined to see if I

15 Properly *Centi* or *cepli*, a coin of Ceuta that was current in Portugal

cannot find the island of Cipango.¹⁶

Now that night was upon us, all went ashore in their canoes."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14th.

"At daybreak, I ordered the ships launch and the boats of the caravels to make ready to reconnoitre the island, and direct our course to the N N E. I wanted to see the other side of the island and the villages. Later on I saw two or three villages the inhabitants of which ran to the shore, motioned us to land and gave thanks to God. Some brought vessels of water and others food. Finding that I did not steer for the shore, many plunged into the sea and swam after us, and we understood by their signs that they asked us if we had come from heaven. An old man came in a canoe, others both men and women called out in a loud voice "come and see the men who have come from heaven, bring them food." Then came many men and women, each one bringing something ; giving thanks to God, throwing themselves upon the ground and raising their hands towards heaven, and again calling upon us to land. But I was afraid, as I saw the coast surrounded by a reef of rocks that surrounds the entire island, and within which there was a depth of water and sufficient harbor to receive all the ships in Christendom ; and the entrance to which was very narrow. It is true that within there are several sand banks, but the water was as smooth as in a pond. It was to see all this that I moved forward this morning, so as to be able to give Your Highnesses a full account of it. I also wanted to secure a suitable place for a fort. I soon came to a small peninsula on which were six cabins, and which was two or three days sail from the mainland. I really see no necessity for building a fort, as these people seem to be ignorant of the use of arms ; as Your Highnesses will judge from the seven that I have ordered to

16 Marco Polo in chapter CVI, of the account of his voyage assures us that he had seen this island, of which he gives a description and he adds that it was situated on the high sea, at a distance of 1500 miles from the continent of India. Dr. Robertson says that this was probably Japan. *Recherches hist-sur l' Inde ancienne.*

be taken with me that they might learn our language, and serve as interpreters ; unless, Your Highnesses desire to have them all go with us to Castile, or held captive on this very island ; because with fifty of our men, I can hold them all in subjection and make them do anything I may desire. There are also on this island, groves and gardens, the most beautiful I have ever seen, and with foliage as green as those in Castile in April and May. I noticed everything connected with this harbor, and then I returned to the ship and again set sail. I saw so many islands that I could not decide where to land first and the seven natives I have on board, made known to me by signs that there were so many as to be countless, and they mentioned more than a hundred by name.¹⁷ I then looked around for the largest¹⁸, and determined to go to it, and I did so, and this must be distant from *San Salvador* five leagues, and further from the others. All are very level, without mountains and very fertile ; all are inhabited and the natives make war upon one another, notwithstanding that these people are very simple and though shapely in form, not robust.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15th.

We lay to here over night for fear of drifting to land or of going aground before morning for want of knowledge of these waters, and at daybreak continued our course, and as the islands were some distance from us, more than five leagues, it might have been seven, and the tide was against us, it must have been noon when we reached the said island ; I found that part of it towards the island of *San Salvador* extending from north to south some five leagues, and the other which I followed ran from east and west some ten or more leagues, and as from this island, I saw another larger island to the west, I set sail and went all that day until night, without reaching the western extremity. I gave this island

17 The multitude of these islands would seem to indicate that they formed the group known as the *Cuicos*, the *Inaguas*, *Great* and *Little*, and *Mariguana* ; and the others that lie to the west.

18 This must be the one called *Great Cuico*, and is $6\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from the first,

the name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion.¹⁹ About sunset I anchored near the cape on said island to ascertain whether there was any gold there because the natives I have brought with me from *San Salvador* told me that the people here wear bracelets and anklets of massive gold. I imagined that all they said was fiction and with the object of getting ashore to escape. With all this, it was my intention to pass no island without taking possession, because once taken, it would answer for all time. I anchored and remained until to-day (Tuesday) when, at daybreak I went ashore with my boats manned and armed. I found the natives the same as those of *San Salvador*, the same nakedness and the same absence of wealth; they permitted us to roam at will over their island and gave us anything we asked for. As the wind was changing to S E., I did not wish to remain and returned to the ship. One of the Indians on board the *Niña* plunged into the sea and swam to a large canoe near by and went off in it, (and at midnight the previous night the same was done by another),²⁰ and followed the canoe, which was managed so skillfully that we could not overtake it, with all the advantage we had. On reaching the shore they all fled like chickens and left the canoe after them. Some of my crew went in pursuit, they captured the canoe and brought it to the *Niña*, which was now being approached from another direction by a small canoe, with a single Indian on board who came to barter a ball of cotton. As he paused when near the vessel and feared to come on board, some of the crew jumped overboard and captured him. I was standing on the high poop of the vessel and saw all that passed, and I sent for him and put a red cap on his head and strings of green beads around his arms and two hawks' bells in his ears, and I ordered

19 This would appear to be the island now known as the *North Caico*, although bearing the name *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* all the neighboring islands are known as the *Caicos*.

20 From the unintelligible text in the original and the blank that follows, the sense of the sentence becomes obscure. He probably meant to say "and on the night before, at midnight another native jumped overboard and made for the canoe of his companions, etc."

him and his ball of cotton to be placed in his canoe, which had been made fast to the Niña, and sent ashore. I now set sail for the other large island I saw to the west, and ordered the other canoe that was fastened astern of the caravel Niña to be cast loose to be regained by its owners. I saw that when the Indian, whom I had liberated and whose ball of cotton I had refused to take, reached the shore the others thronged around him and regarded us with wonder and we seemed in their eyes to be honest people, and that the man we had kept and who fled from us must have done something wrong and it was for that reason that we had taken him with us ; for this reason I acted as I did, and ordered him liberated and gave him the things already mentioned, that we might be held in esteem, so that, at another time, when Your Highnesses should send others to these parts they should not encounter hostility. All I gave the man did not amount to four *maravedis*. Thus, I set sail, at about ten o'clock with a S E., wind, and steered south so as to reach this other island mentioned, which is very large, and which all the natives I have with me from *San Salvador*, inform me by signs, abounds with gold, and the inhabitants wear it on their arms as bracelets, on their legs, in their ears, in their noses and around their necks. This island is nine leagues W., of the island of Santa Maria, and extends from N W., to S E., about twenty-eight leagues,²¹ and is very level, without any mountains, like San Salvador and Santa Maria, and the shores without rocks, except that they all have a few ledges under the water near the shore, and in the vicinity of which great care must be taken when anchoring, and not to anchor too near the shore, although the waters are always very clear and the bottom may be seen. And at two gun shot distance from land there is no anchorage among these islands because of the great depth of the water. These islands are very green and fertile, and the air is very balmy, and there may be many things here that I know not of, as I do not wish to delay here, but to visit many islands to find gold. And considering the signs of its existence among the natives

21 It is only nineteen leagues.

who wear it on their arms and legs, and it is true gold because I showed them some pieces that I had, and I shall not fail, with the help of God to find it where it originates. Being between these two islands, that is, that of Santa Maria, and this large one which I have named *Fernandina*,²² I overtook a single Indian in a canoe going from Santa Maria to Fernandina. He had a little of his bread, perhaps a morsel, and a calabash of water, a piece of red earth made into powder and afterward kneaded up, and some dry leaves which must be highly prized among the inhabitants for a quantity of it was brought to me at San Salvador. He had also a little basket, a string of glass beads, and two blancas.²³ From this I know that he came from the island of San Salvador, had passed to Santa Maria island and was on his way to Fernandina. He came alongside, and I made him come aboard, as he desired, and made fast his canoe. I made him keep everything he had, and gave him, besides, bread and honey and drink. In this way we shall carry him to Fernandina, where I shall restore to him his belongings, so that he may give a good account of us to the inhabitants, and that God willing, when Your Highnesses shall send any one here, those who come may receive honor, and whatever the natives may be able to give them.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16.

I set out from the *islands of Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, at about noon, for the *island of Fernandina*, which appears to be very large in the west, and I was all the day becalmed so that I could not arrive in time to see the bottom and secure good anchorage, because it is necessary, in these waters to exercise the greatest care, so as to avoid losing our anchors; so I beat back and forth until morning, when I came to a village, where I anchored and to which had gone the man I picked up yesterday in the canoe, at sea, and who had given such good reports of us that our vessels were surrounded with canoes, and the natives brought us pure water

²² Now called Little Inagua—Exuma.

²³ Spanish copper coins.

from their springs. I ordered something to be given to each man, such as a few beads on a string and some hawks' bells, plates of brass, such as are worth in Castile about one maravedi each, and some thongs of leather, all of which were held in great esteem ; I also ordered that those who came on board should be fed with honey. At three o'clock I sent the ship's launch ashore for water, and the natives very cheerfully showed my crew where they could find it, while they themselves helped to carry the casks to the ship, and were very anxious to do everything to please us. This island is very large and I intend to sail around it, because, so far as I can understand, there is gold on or near it. This island is some eight leagues W., from Santa Maria. After writing this, I set sail with a southerly wind to try to go around the island and to work along until I find *Samaot*, the island or city where the gold is, for that is what is told us by all who come on board the ship, as also the inhabitants of Santa Maria and of San Salvador. These people are similar in every respect to those of the afore mentioned islands, with the same language and customs ; except that these seem to me to be more domestic, and more ingenious and intelligent. I see that they have brought cotton and other things on board, which they barter with more profit than the others seemed to expect. Here I have noticed cotton goods made into mantles, and the natives more tidy, while the women wear a kind of little aprons which somewhat covered their nudity, but they are for the most part entirely naked. This island is very green and level and fertile, and I have no doubt that they plant and reap all the year around. I saw many trees very different from ours, and among them, some whose branches extended in all directions and of divers forms, but all proceeded from one trunk. I know of no religion among these people, and I think they would readily become Christians, because they are all very well disposed. Here too, the fish are so different from ours, that it is really wonderful to behold. They rivaled the birds in brilliancy of color ; blue, yellow, red, of all colors, and these colors are so exquisite that no one could fail to be lost in delight and wonder in looking at

them. There are also dolphins here. I saw no animals of any kind except parrots and lizards. A sailor told me that he had seen a large serpent. I saw neither sheep nor goats nor any other animal, although, I have been here but a short time, half a day, still, if there were any I could not fail to have seen some. I shall describe the appearance of this island after I shall have circumnavigated it.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17th.

At noon I set sail from this village near which I had anchored and where I took fresh water, to cruise around the island of Fernandina. The wind was S W by S., and favorable to my course as I was told by the Indians I have on board and others too, indicate that the island they call *Samoot*, where the gold abounds, lies in this direction. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the caravel *Pinta*, on board of which I sent these Indians, came to me and informed me that one of them had told him very definitely, that we could sail around the island more readily by taking northwesterly course. I saw that the wind was not favorable to the course I wished to take and was favorable to the other; I steered northwest, and when two leagues from the cape of the island I discovered a beautiful harbor, with an entrance, or rather, two entrances, I might say, formed by an island which lay at its mouth. This harbor is large enough to hold a hundred ships. I kept a sharp look out and sounded, and thus made my way out of it. And, as I thought, when I first saw it that it was the mouth of a river, I ordered the crew to land with casks for fresh water. On landing eight or ten men came forward and showed us near by where to obtain water, and where I sent the crew, some with casks and others with arms. While the men were thus engaged, I wandered through these groves for some two hours, the most beautiful I had ever beheld. The country was as fresh and green as the month of May in Andalusia; the trees, the fruits and the herbs, the flowers, the very stones for the most part, were as different from those of Spain as night from day. The inhabitants were, as has already been said, like unto the other islanders: like them they

were naked, of the same proportions, and parted with what they had for anything offered them ; and here I noticed that some of the crew were trading off some pieces of broken crockery and glass ware for javelins. Others who had gone for water told me how they had visited some of the houses and that they were very clean and neat and that their beds and coverings were something that looked like nets of cotton²⁴ The houses are all after the manner of pavilions or circular tents with very high chimneys ; ²⁵ I did not see many villages and none that exceeded twelve to fifteen cabins. Here we found that the married women wore a sort of cotton trunks, the young ones wore nothing, except a few who might have been about eighteen years of age. They had mastiffs and a sort of dumb-dogs (that never barked.) Some of the crew came across a native who had a piece of gold in his nose that might have been worth about half a *castellano*, ²⁶ and on which were some letters. I chided them for not buying it from him at any price he might have asked, that I might have ascertained what the coin was and where it belonged ; and they replied that they would never have dared to have taken it from him. After getting a supply of water we returned on board, and set sail, and steered S E., until I had discovered all that part of the island as far as the coast which runs W S W., and then all the Indians began to say that this island was smaller than the island of *Saomet*, and that it would be better to turn back so as to reach it sooner. The wind which had fallen entirely now began to blow W N W., which was contrary to where we had come from, and I was obliged to tack all night, and to stand out to sea because the sea was rising and the weather was very heavy, and I did not dare go near the shore to anchor. It rained heavily from midnight until near daylight, and the sky is still overcast and threatening ; we are nearing the cape at the S E., part of the island where

²⁴ Hammocks.

²⁵ These chimneys are not intended for smoke, but as a sort of crown-tops surmounting the straw cabins of the Indians. This aperture was also used for smoke.

²⁶ A very small coin ; now out of use.

I expect to anchor until the weather clears enough to allow one to see the islands I want to reach. It has rained more or less ever since I have been among these Indies. Your Highnesses may well believe that this is the best, the most fertile, the most temperate, the most level and richest country in the world.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18th.

After it had cleared up, I followed the wind and sailed around the island as best I could, and came to anchor at nightfall. I did not go ashore, and set sail again at daybreak.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19th.

At sunrise I upanchored and sent the caravel Pinta to the E S E., and the caravel Niña to the S S E., and I with the ship sailed S E., and gave orders to keep in their course until noon and then both should change the tack and make for the ship. Before we had sailed three hours we saw an island to eastward, for which we all three made and the north point of which we reached at noon. Around this there is a reef of rocks to the north, and another between this and the large island, which the natives I brought with me from San Salvador, call the island of *Saomete*, but to which I have given the name of *Isabella*.²⁷ The wind was north and this reef was in the course of the island of Fernandina from which I had sailed, and the coast extended from the reef west for some twelve leagues to a cape which I named *Cabo Hermoso* which lies to the W. It is very beautiful, being round and very deep, with no bars near it. At first it is rocky and deep but further in the shore is sandy, and I anchored off this coast for the night. If the other islands are beautiful this is more so. It abounds in trees very green and large; the ground rises to higher eminences than that of the other islands we have discovered, not that they can be called mountains, but which contribute to the natural beauty of the island. I wanted to anchor near by and go on shore to enjoy so much beauty; but the water was too shoal, so I had to anchor fur-

²⁷ It appears that the *Isabella* corresponds with the island now known by the name of the *Great Inagua*.

ther out, I do not know where to land first upon these islands; the eye never wearies at seeing so much beautiful verdure, and so different from ours. I believe there are here many herbs and trees which would be of great value in Spain for dyes medicines and spices, but I know nothing of them, and this causes me great concern. And as I approached the cape there came from it a fragrance so good and soft of flowers or trees from the land, that seemed the sweetest thing in the world. Before leaving here in the morning I shall go ashore to see what there is at this cape; there are no villages save in the interior where the natives I have brought with me say there is a king and that he has much gold. Early in the morning I shall advance until I find their villages, and see or communicate with the king, who as these people give me to understand, rules over all the neighboring islands, wears clothes and much gold upon his person. I do not, however, place great reliance on what I am told, partly because of the difficulty in understanding the natives and also because of my knowledge of their poverty of gold, and that the little this king may wear seems to them a great deal. This place to which I have given the name of *Cabo Hermoso*, I believe to be an island apart from *Saometo*, and there is still another smaller one near by. I do not always hasten in this manner, because I could not see all there is to be seen in fifty years, but I wish to see and discover all I can at present, because I am anxious to return to Your Highnesses, God willing, in April. It is true, that finding a place where there is gold or spices in quantity, I shall delay until I have secured all I possibly can, and for this reason I am cruising around in search of it.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER, 20th

To-day, at sunrise I left my anchorage off the island of *Saometo*, at its S E., cape, to which I gave the name of *Cabo de la Laguna*, and to the island that of *Isabela*, and stood W S W., where I understood my Indians to say I should find the village and the king, but I found the way so shallow that I could not go on; I saw too that by sailing S W., I should make too long a detour, and for this reason I resolved to

turn back upon the course I had followed N N E., on the west side, and go around the island ²⁸ the wind was so light that I could scarcely make the coast until nightfall; and because it is dangerous to cast anchor among these islands, except by daylight, when one may see where he drops it, I lay to all this night into Sunday. The caravels anchored, because they made the anchorage early, and they signaled to me, as was our custom to do likewise, but I did not do so.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21st.

At ten o'clock I reached this cape of the island and cast anchor, as did also the caravels, and after breakfast I went ashore. Here I found only one cabin in which there was no one, and I am led to believe that its inmates fled through fear at our approach, because all their belongings were in it. I allowed nothing to be touched, and went forth with my captains and crews to see the island, and if the others we have seen were beautiful and green and fertile, this one is much more so; with large groves and deep foliage. Here are large lakes, and the groves about them are marvelous; and here and in all the island, everything is green as in April in Andalusia. The singing of the little birds is such, that it seems that one would never desire to depart hence. There are flocks of parrots that obscure the sun, and other birds, large and small, of so many kinds, different from ours, that it is wonderful; there are trees of a thousand species, each having its particular fruit and all of marvelous flavor, so that I am in the greatest trouble in the world not to know them, for I am very certain that they are all of great value. I shall take home some of them as specimens, and also of the herbs. While wandering thus along one of these lakes I saw a serpent, ²⁹ which we killed and I bring the skin to Your Highnesses. As soon as it saw us, it plunged into the lake, and we followed it, the water not being deep, until we dispatched

²⁸ This blank occurs in the original—the word left out may be *reconnoître*.

²⁹ He means here, an *iguana*, the flesh of which was highly prized by the natives.

it with lances. It is seven palms in length. I think the lake abounds in them. Here I recognized aloes, and I intend to-morrow to take some ten quintals on board, because it is said to be very valuable. Also, while in search of good water we came upon a settlement, about half a league away, the people of which, as soon as they saw us took to flight, and left their houses, and took their belongings and hid them among the hills. I did not allow the value of a pin to be taken from them. Later on a few men came near us, and one of them came up to us. I gave him some hawks' bells and some glass beads, with which he was highly delighted; and that our friendship might increase by requiring something from them, I asked for fresh water, and no sooner had we returned to our ships than they brought us some in their calabashes, and seemed delighted to give it to us, and I ordered more beads to be distributed among them, and they promised to come back in the morning. I was anxious to fill all the water casks on the vessel here, so that if I can get the time I shall sail round this island, and hold parley with this king, and try to obtain some of the gold which I hear he has; and then set out for a larger island, which I think must be *Chipango*, according to the information given me by my Indians, and which they call *Colba*,³⁰ to which they say that large merchant ships come to trade with its inhabitants. From this island, I shall seek another which the natives call *Bosio*³¹ of which the natives also give marvelous accounts. But I still hold to the idea of going to *terra firma* and to the city of *Guisay* and deliver in person the letter of Your Highnesses to the Grand Khan and receiving his reply return with it to Spain.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 22d.

All night I waited to see whether the king of this place or some other persons would bring us gold or some other valuable. Many of these people came; they were like unto

³⁰ This seems to be a mistake in the original. He means *Cuba* as is proved further on.

³¹ Perhaps he means *Bohio*, as he calls it later on.

those on the other islands ; naked, some painted white, some red, some black, and others in various ways. They carried javelins and some balls of spinning cotton, which they exchanged with some of the crew for pieces of glass, broken cups, and straps of leather. Some of the natives had pieces of gold hanging from their noses, which they gladly disposed of for hawks' bells and glass beads ; but it is so scarce as to amount to nothing. They highly prized anything we gave them and regarded our arrival as something marvelous; they thought we had descended from the skies. We took water for our vessels from the lake which is near the *cape of the island*, for, I so named it. In this same lake Martin Alonso Pinzon, Captain of the *Pinta*, killed another serpent (iguana) like the one we killed yesterday, measuring seven palms, I here took on board all the aloes I could find.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23d.

“I would like to start to-day for the island of *Cuba*, which I think must be *Cipango*, from what the natives here tell me of its size and wealth, and I shall not tarry here longer, nor³² around this island to go to the village, as I had resolved upon to hold converse with this king or lord ; I shall not delay long as I see there are no gold mines here, and to circumnavigate these islands it requires wind from every quarter, and the wind does not blow from the quarter we want it to. Hence, I deem it best to go on where I can have more play, and make more headway so as to reach some land that will prove profitable : I am inclined to believe that a great abundance of spices is to be found here, and my not knowing them causes me great anxiety, inasmuch as I see all manner of trees bearing every variety of fruits, and as green now, as they are in Spain in May and June. I see also a thousand varieties of herbs, some in bloom, and of all these I only know the aloes, a large quantity of which I had to-day, transported to our ships for Your Highnesses. I have not sailed, nor can I do so for *Cuba*, because there is no wind. There is a dead calm and heavy rain. Yesterday it rained a

³² The same blank space appears in the original.

great deal but it was not cold. During the day it is warm and the nights are as temperate as in May in Analusia in Spain.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24th.

"At midnight I "up anchored" off the island of *Isabella* and *Cape Island* which is north of where we lay, to start for *Cuba*, which I learn from the people, is large and important, and where there abound gold and spices and large ships and merchants, and that by sailing W S W., I will reach it. This I am inclined to do, for I believe that if, all the Indians of these islands and those I have brought with me, tell me by signs, as I do not understand their language, be true, it is the island of *Cipango* that all these wonderful things are told about, and from all the signs I have noticed on the maps of the world, it must be in this vicinity. I therefore, stood W S W., until daylight, when the wind died away, while the rain which had been falling most of the night continued. We remained thus with little wind till the afternoon, when a delightful breeze sprung up. Every sail was set, and we stood off until near nightfall, when Cabo Verde which is in the S W., part of the island of Fernandina, bore N W., seven leagues distant. The wind continuing to blow fresh, and not knowing the distance to the island of Cuba, I determined not to run for it during the night, as these islands have bold shores, no bottom being obtained at more than two lombard-shots from land. Add to this that we are surrounded with rocks and shoals in abundance, and that all these, taken together, makes it very dangerous to anchor except during the day. I, therefore, ordered all sail to be taken in, except the foresail, and kept on under that. The wind increased and we made much headway, the full extent of which I could not ascertain. It was very windy with rain; finally I ordered the foresail to be taken in. We did not make two leagues the whole night.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25th.

Sailed after sunrise till nine o'clock, a distance of five leagues, and then altered the course to W., and went at the rate of eight miles an hour till one o'clock, and from this

until three in the afternoon, made forty-four miles, when land came in sight. It proved to be seven or eight islands,³³ extending from north to south, and were five leagues distant.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26th.

Dropped anchor south of these islands; water shallow five or six leagues from the shore. The Indians on board said that the island of *Cuba* was a day and a half's journey in their canoes from where they now were. These canoes were quite small, made of a single log and carrying no sail. Set out for *Cuba*, because, from the information given by the Indians of its size and of the abundance of gold and pearls to be found there, no doubt remained that it was *Cipango*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27th.

Weighed anchor at sunrise and sailed from these islands, which were named *Las Islas de Arena* (Sand Islands) because of the shoals which extended out from them for six leagues to the south. Sailed S S W., eight miles an hour until one o'clock, and made forty miles, and by night had made twenty-eight more in the same direction; before dark came in sight of land. The night was very rainy and a strict watch was kept. Sailed on Saturday up to sunset, seventeen leagues to the S S W.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28th.

Sailed from here S S W., in quest of the island of Cuba, and hugging the nearest shore, entered a fine river free from danger of shoals or other perils; all the coast along here was deep and unobstructed. The mouth of the river had a depth of twelve fathoms of water and plenty of lee-way. Anchored here at about a lombard-shot from the shore. The Admiral says that he never saw anything more beautiful. Trees abounded close to the river, and their foliage was green and luxuriant, and different from ours, and bearing fruits and blossoms of all kinds. Birds were very abundant and the little ones sang most sweetly. There were great numbers of palm trees differing from those in Guinea and from ours,

³³ These must have been the eastern and southern points of the Grand Bank of the Bahamas

moderate in size and without their peculiar bark. The leaves were large and were used by the natives for covering their cabins. The land appeared quite level. The Admiral entered his launch and went ashore; he found two dwellings, the inmates of which he judged to be fishermen who had fled through fear at his approach. In one of them he found a dumb dog. In both cabins he found nets of palm threads, lines, horn fish hooks, bone harpoons and other fishing implements, and many fire places, and he supposed that each of these houses was resorted to by many persons. He ordered that nothing of all these should be touched, which order was obeyed. The grass was as tall as in Andalusia in April and May. Purslain and strawberry-blite abounded. He returned to his boat and went some distance up the river, where the Admiral says it was delightful to behold the charming verdure and foliage, and the birds, and that it was with difficulty that he could tear himself away from these scenes. He declares that that island is the most beautiful that eyes have ever looked upon. It abounds in good harbors and deep rivers, with a shore upon which it would seem the sea never breaks, as the grass grows down to the very edge of the water, something that never happens where the sea is rough. Up to this time these islands had never experienced an angry sea. The isle, he says, is full of beautiful mountains, which are high, though not of very great extent, while the rest of the country is high, after the manner of Sicily. The island is full of streams, as he was able to gather from the Indians from *Guanahani* whom he had brought with him, and who indicated to him, by signs, that there are ten large rivers, of such size that their canoes cannot make the circuit of them all in twenty days. While the ships were sailing landwards, two canoes put off from the shore, but when the natives in them perceived that the sailors from the ships were manning their boats and rowing towards the mouth of the river to sound for a safe anchorage, they took flight in their canoes. The Indians said that there were mines of gold and pearls upon this island, and the Admiral observed muscles and other indications of these objects in the vicinity. The Admiral also

understood that large ships came here from the *Great Kahn*, and that the mainland was distant a ten days voyage. The Admiral named this river and port *San Salvador*.³⁴

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29th.

Weighed anchor from this port and sailed west, bound in quest of the city in which the Indians seemed to indicate that he would find the said king. A point³⁵ of the island extended towards the N W., six leagues from the place of their departure, and another³⁶ ten leagues to the eastward. One league further on discovered a river with a smaller entrance which the Admiral called *Rio de Luna*.³⁷ Kept on until the vesper hour. Saw another river, much larger than those they had yet seen, and as the Indians signified to them, also by signs. On the banks were seen a goodly collection of houses; the Admiral named it *Rio de Mares*.³⁸ He sent two boats ashore to hold converse with the people; in one of them he sent an Indian of those on board, because they could now make themselves understood a little, and they appeared to have become reconciled to the society of christians. The people on shore, men, women and children, all fled at their approach, abandoning their dwellings with all they contained. The Admiral commanded that nothing belonging to them should be touched. He says that the houses were the finest he had yet seen, and believes that the nearer he comes to the mainland, the more they will improve. They were constructed after the manner of tents, were very large, and each collection of them appeared like a camp, without the order of streets, but scattered here and there. The interiors were very clean and neat, and everything in perfect order. They are all built of palm branches and are very fine. Here were found many statues in the form of women, and numerous heads something like masks, very well executed.

³⁴ Now known as the port or bay of Nipe. Six leagues S S E from Punta de Mulas.

³⁵ Punta de Mulas.

³⁶ Punta Cabana.

³⁷ Probably Puerto de Banes, which is N N W., of the former.

³⁸ Probably Puerto de las Nuevitas del Principe.

I cannot tell whether these were used as ornaments or as objects of worship. Here were dogs that never bark ; small fowl, originally wild but now tame about the houses ; marvelous assortments of nets and fish hooks and other implements for fishing ; nothing of all this was touched by the Spaniards. The Admiral judged that the dwellers along the coast were fishermen, and carried what they caught inland, because the island is very large, and one never wearies in speaking of its beauties. He says he found trees and fruits of the most delightful odor, and that there must be cows and other cattle on the island, as he saw skulls which appeared to belong to cows. All through the night was heard the melody of birds and crickets ; the air was soft and mild through the night ; neither hot nor cold. In the other islands the heat was great, but here it was temperate like May. He ascribes the heat on the other islands to their being level, and to the wind which blows there, which, being from the east, is consequently hot. The water of these rivers was salt at the mouth ; it was not known where the Indians drank ; the water in their dwellings was fresh. This river was broad enough for ships to manoeuvre in on entering and departing, and along the shore are many valuable landmarks. It was seven or eight fathoms deep at the mouth, and five inside. The Admiral thinks that the sea about here must always be as smooth as the river at Seville and the water seems favorable to pearl raising. Here were periwinkles of large size, but, unlike those of Spain, tasteless. He describes the river and port of *San Salvador*, above referred to, as marked by lofty and beautiful mountains, like the *Pena de los Enamorados* (the Lovers' Peak) one of them containing on its summit a protuberance in the form of a beautiful mosque. The other river or harbor, in which we are now, has to the S E., two mountains almost round, and to the W N W., a fine level cape juts out into the sea.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30th.

Left *Rio de Mares* to the N W., and after having gone fifteen leagues, saw a cape covered with palms and called it

Cabo de Palmas.³⁹ The Indians who were on board the *Pinta*, said that behind that cape, there was a river, and that that river was four day's journey from *Cuba*, and the captain of the *Pinta* said he understood that this *Cuba* was a city, and that that land was a mainland, very large, which extended far to the north, and that the king of that country was at war with the Grand Khan, whom the natives called *Camí* and whose country or city they called *Pura*, and many other names. The Admiral determined to reach that river and to send a present to the king of that country, and also the letter of the Sovereigns, and to do this he detailed a sailor who had traveled in Guinea, and some Indians from *Guanahani* who wanted to go with him, so that later they might return to their own land. To the Admiral's thinking, it was forty-two degrees north of the equinoctial line,⁴⁰ if there is no mistake in the letter from which I have copied this, and he says he had to work his way to the Grand Khan, who, he thought, must be in that vicinity, or in the City of *Cathay*, which is the Grand Kahn's, and which is said to be very large, as he was told before he left Spain. All this land he says is level and beautiful and the sea deep.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31st.

Spent all Tuesday night tacking, and saw a river we could not enter because of lack of depth at the entrance. The Indians thought the vessel could pass through as well as their canoes, and sailing onward the fleet came to a cape which projected far out and was surrounded by a sandbar, and also a harbor in which small vessels could enter, but they could not make it because the wind had veered to the north; the coast extended N N W., and S E., and another cape which appeared ahead projected still further out. The wind became contrary and the appearance of the heavens threatening rough weather, the Admiral put back to Rio de los Mares.

³⁹ Now called *Alto de Danau*.

⁴⁰ The quadrants of those times measured double altitudes, and consequently the 42° which he said was from the equator to the north, should be reduced to 21° N., Latitude, which is, with a slight difference the parallel along which Columbus sailed.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1st.

At sunrise the Admiral sent boats ashore to visit the houses there but the inhabitants had fled. After a while a single man appeared, and the Admiral ordered that he be left until reassured, and the boats returned to the ship. He sent the boats ashore again in the afternoon with an Indian interpreter, who from a distance told the native not to be afraid, that the strangers were a good people who would harm no one; nor were they connected in any way with the Grand Khan. Having said this the Indian threw himself into the sea and swam ashore where two of the inhabitants took him in their arms and led him to a house where they questioned him. On becoming convinced that no harm would come to them, they became reassured so that it was not long before sixteen canoe loads of them crowded around the ships bringing balls of cotton yarn and other trifles. The Admiral forbade trade for these things so that they would know that he desired nothing but gold, which they called *nucay*, and thus during the entire day the natives came and went from the ships and our people went ashore with perfect security. The Admiral saw no gold among them, but he says he saw one of them have a piece of wrought silver hanging from his nose, from which he judged that there was silver on this island. They told us, by signs, that within three days many merchants would come from the interior to purchase such things as the Christians brought with them, and would bring news of the king of that country who, as they explained, by signs, was four day's journey distant, and that they had sent news of the Admiral's arrival to all parts of the country. These people, says the Admiral, are the same as all the others we have found, with no religion that I know of, for up to this time I have not seen those I have brought with me make any show of prayer. Up to this time they said the *Salve* and the *Ave Maria* with their heads raised to heaven as they have been taught to do. They also make the sign of the Cross now. They all speak the same language, and are all friends, as I believe them to be throughout all these islands, and that they are at war with the Grand Khan, whom they call *Cavila*,

and the province they call *Bafian*. They go about naked like the others. The Admiral says the river is very deep and vessels can approach quite close to land. The water is not fresh at the mouth, but some three miles up it is very fresh. The Admiral says he is sure this is the mainland, and, as he says, I am one hundred leagues ⁴¹ from *Zayto* and *Guinsay*, about the same distance from each, and this is evident by the current which comes from a different direction than heretofore, and yesterday when I sailed to the N W., it was cold.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2d.

The Admiral despatched as envoys to the neighboring monarch, two Spaniards, Rodrigo de Jerez, who lived at Ayamonte, and Luis de Torres, who had lived with the Adelantado of Murcia; the latter a converted Jew who spoke Hebrew and Chaldaic, and even some Arabic; and with them he sent two Indians, to act as interpreters, one from among those he had brought with him from *Guanahani* and the other belonging to the hamlet on the bank of the river. He gave them strings of beads with which to purchase provisions, should they require them and allowed them six days for their journey there and back. He gave them specimens of spices so that they might ascertain if any of these abounded in the country. Instructions were given them to search out the king of that country, and as to what they were to tell him on the part of the Sovereigns of Castile, how the Admiral had been sent by them as a bearer of letters and a present which he was to deliver personally, and of his purpose of establishing a friendly intercourse between the powers, etc, etc. They were also to acquire accurate information about the situation and distance of certain provinces, ports and rivers which the Admiral had descriptions of. Here the Admiral took his bearings to-night

⁴¹ "This statement" says Las Casas, I am unable to understand. "As the Admiral was convinced that this was the extremity of the Indian continent, he also believed himself to be a hundred leagues from the cities he mentions. Marco Polo gives an account of *Quinsay* or *Giunsay*, in chapter XCVIII, of the account of the voyage.

cinnamon trees. The Admiral went ashore later and found that the Boatswain had been mistaken. The Admiral showed some of the natives of the island specimens of cinnamon and pepper he had brought with him from Castile; they recognized it and they indicated by signs that there were large quantities of it to the S W. He showed them pearls and gold, and some old men told him that at a place called Bohio⁴⁴ they abounded and that gold was worn on the neck and ears, and on the arms and legs, and also pearls. He further understood that there were large ships and merchandise; and all this was S W. He also learned that far from here there were men with only one eye and others with the heads of dogs who ate men, and who, when they captured one, cut his throat and drank his blood, and otherwise mutilated his person. The Admiral determined to return to his ship and await the return of his two messengers, before setting out to find that country, unless the messengers brought him the news he desired. The Admiral further states, these people are very gentle and timid, naked, as I have already said and destitute of arms and of laws. These lands are very fertile; they are planted with mamees, which are like carrots⁴⁵ and which taste like chestnuts; and they have beans⁴⁶ and beeches very different from ours, and much cotton, which they do not plant, but which grows in the mountains; large trees, and I think they can gather fruit at all seasons, because I have seen buds opening and others open and some blossoming, all on one tree, and an abundance of all manner of fruit which is impossible for me to describe, but all of which must be very profitable. All this says the Admiral.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5th.

At sunrise the Admiral ordered the ship and other vessels to be careened for scraping and repairs, but not all at once; but that two should always be in readiness for safety; although he says that these people were very trustworthy and not to be

44 The Indians of those islands called their houses *Bohio*, and for this reason Las Casas thought the Admiral must have misunderstood them.

45 This must have been the potato.

46 These must be the ordinary beans.

feared, and that he could strand all the vessels with perfect safety. While this was being done the Boatswain came to the Admiral to claim a reward, as he had discovered the mastic tree (*Pistacia Lentiscus*,) but he had no sample with him because he had dropped it. The Admiral promised it to him, but sent Rodrigo Sanchez and the Supercargo Diego to where the trees were, and they found some of the gum, a portion of which they kept to carry to the Sovereigns; and they said that they recognized the mastic gum, although it was out of season, and that there was enough in the neighborhood to afford a thousand quintals a year. He found here much of the wood which looked like lignaloos. He says, further, that the *Puerto de Mares*, is one of the best in the world, that the air is the purest, and the people the most gentle, and as it has a rather high promontory it will be a suitable place for a fortress, so that if the region should turn out rich and valuable things were found here our merchants could be protected from other nations; and he adds; May the Lord, in whose hands are all victories, direct all according to his service. He says that one of the Indians indicated by signs that mastic was good for pains in the stomach.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6th.

Last evening, says the Admiral, the two ambassadors who had been sent to the interior returned. They related how they had journeyed some twelve leagues when they came to a village of fifty houses, and which contained at least one thousand inhabitants, as a large number occupy one house. They were received with great solemnity, according to their customs. All the inhabitants, men and women crowded around them; they were taken to the best houses; some of the natives touched them, kissed their hands and feet, looked upon with wonder and imagined that they had come from heaven. This they manifested by signs. They gave their visitors what they had to eat. The ambassadors further said that on their arrival, the chief men of the village conducted them to the principal house and placed them on two chairs, (supposed to be chairs of state) whilst the natives sat on the floor

around them. The Indian interpreter who accompanied the Spaniards told them how the Christians live, and that they were good people. After some time the men withdrew and the women came in and seated themselves around the strangers in the same manner as the men had done; kissing their hands and feet; touching them, examining their skin to see whether they were flesh and bones like themselves. They besought them to remain with them at least five days. The visitors showed them specimens of cinnamon, pepper and other spices with which the Admiral had supplied them, and they replied, by signs, that these abounded near by to the S W., but that there was none in the immediate vicinity. Seeing that there was no appearance of treasures among them, the envoys determined to return to the ship. The natives were anxious to accompany them, to the number of over five hundred men and women, because they thought they were about to return to the skies. There came with them, however, one of the principal men with his son; they were attended by a domestic. The Admiral spoke with them and did them much honor; he showed them many lands and islands in the neighborhood; he thought of taking them to his Sovereigns, and says he does not know what came over them, for it appears that a fear came over them after dark and they wanted to go ashore; and the Admiral says that because of his having the vessel beached (undergoing repairs) and not wishing to displease his guest, he allowed him to go, on his promise to return in the morning, which he never did.

On their way back from the villages the two Christians, noticed numerous men and women going about from one village to another with firebrands in their hands, and certain dried herbs which they rolled up in a leaf, and lighting one end, put the other in their mouth and continued inhaling and exhaling volumes of smoke.⁴⁷ They met with many hamlets, but none with more than four or five houses, all well peopled. They saw many varieties of trees, herbs and fragrant flowers. They saw many varieties of birds, different from

⁴⁷ This is the first mention made of *tobacco*. Bishop Las Casas refers to it in his *Historia General de las Indias*, lib 1 Cap. 46.

those in Spain, except some partridges and nightingales which sang, and geese which were very numerous. No four-footed animals were seen except dogs that never bark. The soil is very fertile and largely planted in beans, mamees and panic-grass. Also a large quantity of cotton, in yarn and wrought into nets of which they made their hammocks. In one of the store houses they saw more than five hundred arrobas⁴⁸ and that they could raise in that region four thousand quintals a year. The Admiral says it seemed as if they planted and gathered fruit all the year round. The cotton is very fine and has full heads. Everything these people possessed they parted with for the most trifling things, and they would exchange a large bale of cotton for a piece of leather strap or anything else given them. They are a people, says the Admiral, who are guileless and unwarlike; they go about, men and women, as naked as when they came into the world. It is true that some of the women had a slight covering of netted cotton around the middle. As a rule they are all well formed, and are not as dark in color as the natives of the Canaries. I have already said, Your Most Serene Highnesses, (said the Admiral) that once these people understand our language they will be disposed to be very devout and religious and that in time, all will become Christians. I trust in the Lord, that Your Highnesses, will give the matter your consideration with all diligence, so that these great multitudes may turn to the church and become converted, as you have destroyed those who refused to recognize the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost: that after your days are over, for we are all mortals, you will leave your kingdoms in a peaceful state, clear of all heresies and wickedness, and merit to be well received before the Eternal Creator, whom, may it please to give you long lives, and a large increase of kingdoms and possessions, and the will to advance the Holy Christian religion as you have done until now, Amen.

To-day I floated the ship once more,⁴⁹ and am preparing to set out on Thursday, in the name of God, and to steer S

⁴⁸ The arroba is twenty-five pounds.

⁴⁹ It had been beeched—undergoing repairs.

W., in search of gold and spices, and to discover new lands. These are all the words of the Admiral who calculated to sail on Thursday, but who was prevented from doing so by head winds until the twelfth day of November.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12th.

Sailed from the port and river *de Mares* at daybreak, and directed our course in search of an island which the Indians on board affirmed repeatedly was called *Babeque*,⁵⁰ where as they related by signs, the inhabitants collected gold at night by torch light upon the shore, and afterwards hammered it into bars. In order to reach this island they directed to steer east by south. Having sailed eight leagues along the coast they discovered a river and four leagues further onward, another, very large, exceeding in size all which they had seen. The Admiral was unwilling to remain, and put into either of them, for two reasons, the first and principal one, because the wind and weather were favorable to proceed to the above mentioned island of *Babeque*; the other was, that were there any large towns near the sea, they might easily be discovered, but in case they were far up the river, they they could only be reached by ascending the stream in small vessels, which those of his fleet were not. A desire, therefore, not to waste time, determined him not to explore these rivers, the last of which was surrounded with a well peopled country; he named it *Rio Del Sol*.⁵¹ He states that the Sunday previous, he had thought it would be well to take a few of the natives from the place where the ships lay, for the purpose of carrying them to Spain, that they might acquire our language, and inform us what their country contained, besides becoming Christians and serving us at their return as interpreters, "for I have observed," says he, "that these people have no religion, neither are they idolaters, but are a very gentle race, without the knowledge of any iniquity; they neither kill, nor steal, nor carry weapons, and are so timid that one of our men might put a hundred of them to flight,

⁵⁰ This name was given by the natives, to the coast of the mainland, which they also called *Bohio* and *Caritaba*.

⁵¹ Puerto del Padre.

although they will readily sport and play tricks with them. They have a knowledge that there is a God above, and are firmly persuaded that we have come from heaven. They will quickly learn such prayers as we repeat to them, and also to make the sign of the cross. Your Highnesses should therefore adopt the resolution of converting them to Christianity in which enterprise, I am of opinion that a very short space of time would suffice to gain to our Holy Faith multitudes of people, and to Spain great riches and immense dominions, with all their inhabitants; there being, without doubt, in these countries vast quantities of gold, for the Indians would not without cause give us such descriptions of places where the inhabitants dug it from the earth, and wore it in massy bracelets at their necks, ears, legs, and arms. Here are also pearls and precious stones, and an infinite amount of spices. In the river *de Mares*, which I left last evening, there is undoubtedly a great deal of mastic, and the quantity might be increased, for the trees transplanted, easily take root; they are of a lofty size bearing leaves and fruit like the lentisk; the tree, however is taller and has a larger leaf than the lentisk as mentioned by Pliny. and as I have myself observed in the island of Scio in the Archipelago. I ordered many of these trees to be tapped in order to extract the resin, but as the weather was rainy all the time I was in the river, I was unable to procure more than a very small portion, which I have preserved for Your Highnesses. It is possible also that this is not the proper season for collecting it, which, it is likely, may be in the spring, when they begin to put forth their blossoms; at present the fruit upon them is nearly ripe. Great quantities of cotton might be raised here, and sold, as I think, profitably, without being carried to Spain, but to the cities of the *Great Khan*, which we shall doubtless discover, as well as many others belonging to other sovereigns; these may become a source of profit to Your Highnesses by trading thither with the productions of Spain and the other European countries. Here also is to be found abundance of aloe, which however is not a thing of very great value, but the mastic assuredly is being met with no where else except in the

before-mentioned island of Scio, where, if I remember rightly it is produced to the amount of fifty thousand ducats value in a year. The mouth of this river forms the best harbor I have yet seen, being wide, deep and free from shoals, with a fine situation for a town and fortification where ships may lie close along the shore, the land high, with a good air and fine streams of water. Yesterday a canoe came to the ship with six young men, five of them came on board, whom I ordered to be detained, and have them with me ; I then sent ashore to one of the houses, and took seven women and three children this I did that the Indians might bear their captivity better with their company, for it has often happened that the Portuguese have carried the natives from Guinea to Portugal, for the purpose of learning their language, and when this was done, and they returned with them to Guinea, expecting by reason of the good treatment they had showed them, and the presents they had given them, to find great benefit in their use, they have gone among their own people and never appeared more. Others have done differently, and by keeping their wives, have assured themselves of their possession. Besides, these women will be a great help to us in acquiring their language, which is the same throughout all these countries, the inhabitants keeping up a communication among the islands by means of their canoes. This is not the case in Guinea, where there are a thousand different dialects, one tribe not understanding another. This evening came on board, the husband of one of the women, and father of the three children, which were a boy and two girls he entreated me to let him accompany them, which I very willingly granted ; the natives whom I had taken from here, were all so delighted at this as to induce me to think them his relations. He is a person of about forty-five years of age. All this is in the exact words of the Admiral ; he also says that he found the weather somewhat cold, and being in the winter, thought it not advisable to prosecute his discoveries any further towards the north.⁵² This day, Monday, we sailed by

52 From what he here relates, it appears that had he proceeded northerly he would undoubtedly, in two days, have discovered Florida. Las Casas.

sunset eighteen leagues, east by south, to a cape which he named *Cabo de Cuba*.⁵³

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13th.

All night beat up and down making no progress which was done for the purpose of examining a gap between two lofty mountains which we had noticed at sunset, and which seemed to be a separation between the land of *Cuba* and that of *Bohio*, this the Indian who accompanied us made known to us by signs. Daylight having arrived, the vessels headed for land and passed a point which in the night appeared to be two leagues away, and entered a large bay, five leagues to S S W., and there were five more to go before reaching the cape where between two high mountains it forms a sort of cut water, and he was unable to determine whether it was an entrance to the sea or not. He was anxious to push forward to the island which the natives called *Babeque*, where he had information, as he understood it, that there was much gold, and which island was to the east. As he saw no large settlement, and in order to resist the rigor of the wind which was constantly increasing, he decided to put to sea, and steer east under a north wind, and sailed eight miles an hour, and from ten o'clock in the morning, when he took this tack, until sundown he made fifty-five miles, which are fourteen leagues to the east from Cabo de Cuba. And from the other coast to leeward, beginning with the cape of the aforesaid gulf, he made as he thought, eighty miles, which are twenty leagues, and he ran along the entire coast E S E., and W N W.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14th.

Stood off and on during the night, not judging it safe to sail among the islands in the dark. The Indians informed them yesterday that the distance from *Rio de Mares* to the island of *Babeque* was three days voyage, this of course, was to be understood of a voyage in their canoes, which go about seven leagues in a day. The wind was light, and though their direction was east, it would not allow them to steer within a point of this course, these, and other hindrances

⁵³ Punta de Mulas.

which are related kept them from making any progress before morning. At sunrise the Admiral, in consequence of the wind having shifted from N, to N E, determined to steer for the land, and seek a harbour, and in the event of not meeting with one, to return to that he last quitted. Having gone that night twenty-four miles east by south, he stood south for the land, and arriving near, saw many harbours, inlets, and islands; the wind blowing strong with a high sea, he did not dare risk an entrance into either of them, but kept along the coast N W, by W. still looking out for a harbour: a great many were seen, but none of them appeared safe; having gone in this manner sixty-four miles, they came to a very deep entrance, a quarter of a mile wide, with a river forming a good haven,⁵⁴ here they entered and found it spacious and deep, containing so many islands that they could not be counted, these were of a good size and lofty, covered with palm and other trees of a thousand different sorts. The Admiral was struck with admiration at viewing so many islands of such a height, and declares to the King and Queen that he believes there are not higher mountains in the world than those which he saw along the coast, and among these islands, and that none equal them in beauty, they being without clouds or snow. At the feet of these mountains there is great depth of water. He states it as his opinion that these islands are the unnumerable ones which in the maps, are placed at the extremity of the east,⁵⁵ and says he believes they contain great riches, precious stones, and spicery, and extend far to the south, spreading out on each side. He named this place *La Mar de Nuestra Senora*, and the harbour near the strait which is the entrance to these islands, he called *Puerto del Principe* of which he made no further survey than by viewing it from without, till he returned to it on the Saturday of the following week, as will afterwards appear.

The Admiral dilates very much upon the fertility, beauty,

54 Probably *Puerto de Tanamo*, in Cuba.

55 In the maps of Martin de Behem, drawn up in 1492, and published by More and Cladera, a great multitude of islands are laid down at the eastern limit of India.

and loftiness of these islands, and cautions the King and Queen not to be surprised at the great admiration he expresses, for as he assures them he does not represent a hundredth part of the truth. Some of these mountains appeared to reach to the skies, and were shaped like the points of diamonds, and others very lofty with table summits. A great depth of water was at their feet, so that the largest carrack^{5 6} might lie there. None of them were rocky, but all covered with wood.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15th.

The Admiral went with the boats to visit the islands, of which he gives a wonderful description, and says he found mastic and great abundance of aloe. Some of the islands were cultivated with the roots which the Indians use in making their bread. Fire was found burning in several places, but they met with no fresh water. A few inhabitants were seen who fled. They found the water in depth from fifteen to sixteen fathoms, with a sandy bottom, and no rocks, a very desirable thing to mariners, as these last are very dangerous in cutting the cables.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16th.

They made it a practice in all those countries and islands, on going on shore, to set up and leave there, a cross. The Admiral went in the boat to the mouth of this port, and upon a point of land, found two large trunks of trees, of different sizes laid across each other in the shape of a cross, so exactly that he says a carpenter could not have done the thing with more precision ; having paid their adoration to this, he ordered that these trunks be taken and made into a large and lofty crucifix. Canes were found about the shore, but they could not discover where they grew. The Admiral thought they had floated down some river, and were washed ashore, and in this he was right. They entered a cove or inlet within the entrance of the port towards the south east ; here they found a rocky promontory with a very bold shore, where the largest carrack in the world might lie close to the

56 A ship of the largest size.

land, with a recess or corner in which half a dozen ship's might lie without anchors as in a dock. This appeared to him a convenient situation for a fortress, in case these islands should ever become a great mart of trade. Returning to the ship, he found the Indians on board fishing for cockles, which are found of a large size in these seas.

He made the crew dive here and search for button-shells which are the cockles in which pearls are found ; they succeeded in obtaining many of them, but no pearls ; this he thought was owing to the season being unfit, and was of opinion that the proper time must be in May and June. The sailors found a creature which appeared like a *tuso*. They fished with nets and took a fish among others resembling a hog, totally covered with a shell of exceeding hardness, being soft nowhere except at the eyes and tail. The Admiral directed it to be preserved by salting, as a curiosity.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17th.

The Admiral went on board the boat in the morning for the purpose of visiting the islands in the south west, which had not been surveyed. A great number were discovered very fertile, and of a beautiful appearance, with the water very deep among them ; in several of these, streams of fresh water were seen running down to the sea, which were thought to proceed from springs among the mountains. Proceeding onward, they came to a fine river of fresh water, which was found to be very cool ; here was also a delightful meadow, with great number of palm trees more lofty than any they had yet seen ; according to the Admiral's relation they found nutmegs here, and large Indian mice, also craw-fish of a large size. Great flocks of birds were seen, and they smelled a powerful odor of musks, which article, they entertained no doubt, was to be met with in these parts.

This day the two oldest of the Indians which had been taken at *Rio de Mares* and sent on board the *Niña* made their escape.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18th.

The Admiral with many of the crew, went in the boats to land, for the purpose of setting up the cross which had been made from the logs before mentioned ; this was done at the entrance of *Puerto del Principe*, where was selected a beautiful spot, clear of wood, for the situation ; it was a lofty elevation and afforded an enchanting prospect. He says that the sea here ebbs and flows much more than at any other place he has visited in these countries ; this he thinks must be ascribed to the multitude of islands in the neighborhood. The tide, he informs us, is the reverse of what it is among us, for when the moon is S W, by S, it is low water in this port. Being Sunday they remained here through the day.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19th.

Set sail before sunrise, but met with a calm. At noon it began to blow a little from the east, and they steered N N E, at sunset *Puerto de Principe* bore S S W, seven leagues distant. They came in sight of the island of *Babeque*, which bore exactly east, at the distance of sixty miles. They sailed all night with a light wind, making a progress of sixty miles, and at ten o'clock the next day, they had completed a dozen more, which amounted to eighteen leagues in the direction of N E, by N.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20th.

The island or islands of *Babeque* bore E S E, from which quarter the wind blew, being of course ahead. Seeing no prospect of the winds shifting, and the sea being high, the Admiral resolved to put about and return to *Puerto del Principe*, from whence they had last sailed, and which was distant twenty-five leagues. He was unwilling to proceed to the island he had named *Isabela*, which was about a dozen leagues off, and where he might have anchored that day, for two reasons, the one because he saw two islands to the south, which he wished to examine, the other because he feared that the Indians on board, which he had taken from *San Salvador* or *Guanahani* as the natives called it, might effect their escape,

as that island was only eight leagues distant from *Isabela*, this he was desirous to prevent, as he wished to carry them to Spain. The Indians as he informs us, were given to understand that in case the Spaniards met with gold they intended to set them at liberty.

They arrived near *Puerto del Principe* but were unable to enter, on account of the night, besides that the current carried them to the north west. They then put about and stood to the north east, under a strong breeze, which however, abated about the third watch of the night, when they steered east by north ; the wind had changed to S S E, and at dawn it shifted again to south. At sunrise they found *Puerto del Principe* to be nearly S W, by W, forty-eight miles or twelve leagues distant.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21st.

As soon as the sun had risen, they stood to the east with a southerly wind ; the currents being contrary, they made but little progress ; towards evening they had gone twenty-four miles, when the wind shifted to the east, and they steered south by east, and by sunset sailed a dozen miles. Here the Admiral found their latitude to be twenty-one degrees north, as at *Puerto de Mares*, but says he shall make no further use of his quadrant, till he arrives on shore, where he shall repair it. It appeared to him that they were not in reality so far to the north, and in this opinion he was right. He was induced to think the quadrant was correct by observing that the north star appeared as high as in Castile, and if this was the fact, he must have been in as high a latitude as Florida, in this case what is the situation of the islands he had been mentioning? Moreover he states that the heat was excessive, but it is clear that if he had been upon the coast of Florida he would not have found it hot, but cold, as it is manifest that in no part of the world is a great heat experienced in such a latitude except by some accidental

cause, and even this I believe has never been known.⁵⁷

This excessive heat which the Admiral says they suffered, indicates that in these Indies and in the parts where they were sailing there must be a great deal of gold. To-day Martin Alonzo Pinzon in the caravel Pinta, left the other ships, without leave of the Admiral, incited by his cupidity, upon the occasion of an Indian on board his vessel offering to direct him whither he might find much gold. Thus he abandoned them without any excuse of necessity, or stress of weather, and the Admiral remarks, he has by language and actions, occasioned me many other troubles.

57 It is not easy to understand these remarks of Las Casas. In this instance, as well as in the two preceding, where the latitude of places has been specified, it is given *twenty-one* degrees in the translation, although the statement of Columbus is *forty-two*: as the Spanish editor remarks in a note upon the first of these passages, that the quadrants in use at that time measured by double altitude, and by consequence forty-two degrees of the computation of Columbus are to be understood as half that number actual distance from the equator, it was thought proper to make the alterations above stated, especially as from a knowledge of the localities referred to, it appears that half the equatorial distance given in the original, is the true latitude of those places. From the observation, however, of Columbus, respecting the appearance of the polar star, one would be led to imagine that he supposed himself in reality as far north as forty-two degrees, and it would seem from what is observed by Las Casas—namely that in the latitude specified by the Admiral, the excessive heat which he mentions could not have existed,—that he understood the actual distance north to be as great as that expressed in the Journal: it would be surprising, if this were the fact, that Las Casas, who had made several voyages to America, should be totally ignorant of the methods of nautical calculation. Besides, the notion that he believed the latitude mentioned, to be really what the numbers express, is irreconcilable with his observation that their distances from the equator would have been in the parallel of Florida. Now this part of the continent was early discovered, and its true situation very well known when Las Casas wrote, so that no possibility exists of his supposing it to be so far north as forty-two degrees, and this writer himself remarks in a note which has already been given, that two days sail farther north from the coast of Cuba would have carried our navigator to that country.

That the polar star could have been little more than half as high as it is seen in Spain, it is hardly necessary to observe. It does not appear how the statement of the Admiral respecting its appearance can be accounted for.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22d.

Last night, sailed south by east, with an easterly wind, which, however, blew very little. At the third watch it began to blow from the N N E, they continued their course southerly, to examine the land which they saw in that quarter, and at sunrise found themselves as far distant from it as they were the day before, by reason of the contrary currents; the land was forty miles distant. Martin Alonzo steered to the east for the island of *Babeque* where the Indians told him there was much gold; he was in sight of the Admiral, about sixteen miles off. All night the Admiral stood towards the land, having taken in some of the sails, and carrying a light, as he thought the Pinta was steering towards him. The night was clear, and there was a fine breeze which might have enabled her to come up, had her commander been so disposed.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23d.

Kept on their course south towards the land with a light wind; the current set so strong against them, that they made no progress ahead, but found themselves at sunset, where they had been in the morning. The wind was E N E, and favorable for sailing to the south, except that it was light. Beyond the cape which they saw before them, extended out another headland towards the east, which the Indians on board called *Bohio*, and said it was very large, and contained inhabitants with one eye in their foreheads and others which they called *Canibales*, and spoke of them with many marks of fear. As soon as they saw the ships were taking that course they were struck with terror, and signified that the people went armed, and would devour them. The Admiral declares that he believes there is some truth in their representations, but thinks that these people described as possessing arms, must be a race of some sagacity, and that having made prisoners of some of the other Indians, their friends not finding them to return, concluded they had eaten them.

This, in fact, was the opinion entertained of the Spaniards by some of the natives at their first arrival.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24th,

Sailed all night, and at three o'clock in the morning, arrived at a low flat island, being the same which they had visited the week before in their voyage to the island of *Babeque*.

At first the Admiral was unwilling to approach the shore, as it appeared to him that the sea rendered it unsafe. At length he proceeded to the gulf which he had named *La Mar de Nuestra Senora*, where the multitude of islands was discovered. Here he entered the harbour which is situated at the entrance of the strait. He says, that had he before known of the existence of this harbour, and had not occupied himself with visiting the islands in the gulf, he should not have found it necessary to put back, although he looked upon the time as well bestowed in exploring the islands. Arrived at the land, he despatched the boat and sounded the harbour, the entrance was found from six to twenty fathoms deep, with a fine sandy bottom. He then sailed up the harbour with the ships, steering southwest and afterwards west, the low island above mentioned bearing northerly and forming with another island a port sufficient to contain all the ships in Spain, where they might lie without mooring perfectly safe from all winds. The entrance here is from the southeast, and there is an outlet towards the west, very broad and deep, so that these islands may be sailed between, and examined by any one coming from the north. They are at the foot of a high mountain which extends a considerable distance from east to west, and is the longest and most lofty among the infinite number which are to be found upon this coast. A ridge of rock runs along at the foot of the mountain towards the entrance of the strait. Toward the southeast, and in the direction of the low island, there is another reef; but small; between them the water is very deep and the passage wide, as is before remarked. Within the entrance at the southeast, they discovered a river very fair and wide, and of greater volume than any they had yet seen.

The water was fresh quite to the sea. It had a bar at its mouth, but a good depth of eight or nine fathoms inside.

The land here, as elsewhere, was totally covered with palm and other trees.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25th.

Before sunrise the Admiral went in the boat to view a cape or point of land to the southeast of the low island, about a league and a half distant, as it appeared to him there was in that quarter some convenient river. About two bow shots from the cape to the southeast, he discovered a fine stream running down a mountain with loud murmurs. He proceeded towards it, and found in the stream certain stones which shone with spots of a golden hue; recollecting that gold was found in the river Tagus near the sea, he entertained no doubt that this was the metal, and directed that a collection of these stones should be made to carry to the King and Queen. While they were about this, the ship-boys cried out that they saw pine trees; the Admiral looked towards the mountain, and discovered pines of such loftiness and admirable shape, that he found it impossible to exaggerate in the description of them, their trunks being tall and straight to a marvel. Here, he perceived that there might be procured masts, plank and every such material for building the largest ships. Here were also oak and strawberry-trees, a convenient stream and good site for saw-mills; the land was high, and the air the most agreeable they had yet met with.

Many stones of a ferruginous colour were found along the shore, and others which some of the men said came out of silver mines, all these were brought down by the stream. They procured from the forest, a yard and mizzen-mast for the caravel *Niña*. Proceeding to the mouth of the river, they put into a bay at the foot of the cape at the southeast, which they found spacious and deep, and capable of containing a hundred ships without anchors or moorings; a finer port than this they had never seen.

The mountains were remarked very lofty, with many fine streams running down their sides; all were covered with forests of pines and other beautiful trees. Two or three other rivers were seen. The whole he describes to the King

and Queen with great enthusiasm: the pines especially, it gave him inexpressible joy to behold, as they afforded the means of building any desirable number of ships. He cannot represent, as he affirms, the hundredth part of what he saw, and declares that it pleased our Lord to go on discovering to him, things more and more valuable; and in all that had been met with, the countries, their productions and inhabitants, things had grown better and better. He adds that himself who saw these wonders, being struck with such admiration, much greater must be caused in one who only hears of them; and that none would believe the accounts of these things, unless they saw them.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26th.

At sunrise they weighed anchor, and set sail from the harbour of *Santa Catalina* within the low island; they proceeded along the coast with a light breeze from the southwest towards *Cabo del Pico* at the southeast, and arrived at the cape late in the afternoon, the wind having died away; they espied in the direction of southeast by east, another cape about sixty miles distant; nearer the ship was a third, which bore southeast by south, apparently twenty miles distant, this the Admiral named *Cabo de Campana*, they could not reach it before night, as the wind failed them. They sailed this day thirty-two miles, which are eight leagues, in this course they saw and marked down nine very remarkable harbours, which the mariners affirmed to be excellent, also five large rivers were seen, the ships keeping close along the coast for the purpose of making a full survey. All this country abounds in very high mountains, very beautiful, neither dry nor rocky but all accessible; and there were most beautiful valleys too. And these valleys like the mountains were covered with lofty green trees, which were a delight to the eye, and which looked like groves of pines. Back of the afore-said *Cabo del Pico*, to the S E, are two islands each about two leagues in circumference and within them two wonderful harbours and two large rivers. No signs of habitations were visible from the sea, on either of these islands; they may

have been inhabited, however, and evidences of it were seen, for whenever we landed we saw traces of people and many ovens or fire places. I calculated that the land seen to-day to the S E, of the *Cabo de Campana* was an island which the Indians called *Bohio*; it would seem so, as the said cape is separated from the land. All the people we have met up to this time expressed the greatest fear of the inhabitants of Caniba or Canima, and they are said to dwell on this island of *Bohio*; this fear must be very great, and our Indians imagine that they will take their lands and houses from them, as our Indians are very timid and have no knowledge of warfare; for this reason the Admiral thinks they are not accustomed to settle near the coast because of its vicinity to these hostile people. No sooner did they see the Admiral standing for this island than they seemed speechless with terror and were afraid that the Caribs would eat them. They insisted that these people had but one eye and had heads like dogs. The Admiral thought they exaggerated, and that these terrible people belonged to the Grand Khan,

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27th.

Yesterday we approached a cape which I called *Campana* and because the sky was clear and the wind light, I did not care to go near the coast to anchor, although there were five or six harbors available and beautiful in the extreme. The Admiral delayed longer than he intended because of the craving and delight he experienced in admiring the beauty and freshness of these lands he was visiting. It was his purpose to push forward and attain his object. For this reason he stood off all night and tacked about until morning. During the night the tides and currents carried him five or six leagues to S E, of where he was at nightfall and where he first came in sight of the land of *Campana*. Beyond that cape was a large entrance which appeared to separate one body of land from the other and it seemed like a cape between them. He resolved to turn back with the S W, wind and he arrived at what he thought was the entrance, but he found it was really a large Bay,⁵⁸ at the extremity of which was another cape on

58 It was the port of *Baracou*.

which there was a mountain ⁵⁹ to the S E. This mountain was high and square and looked like an island. A north wind sprung up and he stood S E, with the object of sailing along the coast and finding what he might. Later on he saw at the foot of the *Cabo de Campana* a delightful harbor⁶⁰ and a large river, and a quarter of a league further on another river, and a half a league beyond that still another, and beyond this for a distance of some leagues S E, from *Cabo de Campana* the Admiral encountered quite a number of rivers. Most of these rivers had broad entrances clear from rocks and wonderful harbors suitable for the largest vessels. Sailing thus along the coast, to the S E, from the last of said rivers, the Admiral came upon quite a large settlement (*Baracoa*), the largest he had yet seen, and he saw a large number of natives who came to the shore with loud shouts, all entirely naked, and carrying canoes. He was anxious to communicate with them, so he took in sail and anchored, and sent the boats of the ship and of the caravels ashore with orders not to injure the Indians and to make them some presents. The Indians made some show of preventing their landing and of opposition, and seeing that the boats continued to approach the shore, and that they were not afraid, they withdrew from the shore. The men in the boats thought there would be no danger in landing, two or three Christians called to the Indians not to be afraid, the Spaniards having learned something of their language from the Indians they had on board; but the natives on the shore took to flight, and not one, great or small remained in sight. The three Spaniards went to their houses, and found them made of straw and constructed just like those they had seen elsewhere on these islands, but they found no one nor anything in any of them. They returned to the ships and hoisted sail, at noon, to proceed to a beautiful cape (*Maisi*), which lay to the east some eight leagues distant. The Admiral had not gone more than half a league when he discovered to the southward a most singular harbor (*that of Baracoa*) and to the S E, some beautiful and wonderful islands, and a

59 Mount *Yunque*.

60 The harbor of *Maravi*.

rocky plain between these mountains, and there appeared to be much smoke and many villages in it, and the fields were well cultivated. This led the Admiral to land at this port and try to have some communication with its people. The fact was that if the Admiral had praised and admired other ports, this one exceeded anything he had ever seen for beauty of scenery, the mildness of its climate and the surroundings of the habitations. He speaks with delight of the beauty of country, and of the trees prominent among which are pines and palms.⁶¹ After coming to anchor the Admiral entered his launch to sound the harbor, and when he went south of the mouth he came to a river the mouth of which was just broad enough to admit a galley, and so constructed as not to be perceptible until he had come quite upon it. After making a ship's length into it he found it to be five fathoms broad and eight deep. Sailing along its banks it was wonderful to see the groves, and fresh vegetation, its crystal springs, the variety of birds, and the scenery which made one wish never to leave the place. He told those who were with him that to give an adequate description to his Sovereigns of the things they saw would require more than a thousand leagues of paper and his hand would be powerless to write it; it seemed to be a land of enchantment. He wished that it might be seen by many other prudent and reliable people whom he was sure would be as delighted with the country as he was. The Admiral here speaks as follows: "I shall not to write the benefits that may be derived from this place. It is most certain, my Sovereigns, that where such lands exist there must be untold profits; but, I do not delay at any port, because I am anxious to see all the lands I can, so as to be able to tell Your Highnesses about them. I do not know the language of these people, and they neither understand me nor any one with me; while the Indians I have on board with me I very often understand to say one thing when they mean the opposite;⁶² nor do I trust them too far as they have made various

61 Las Casas says that the soil is always very fertile where lofty palms abound.

62 From this misunderstanding result many erroneous application of names.

attempts to escape. But now please the Lord, I shall see all I can, and I shall have this language learned by the people of my household, because I noticed that there is but one language throughout all these lands. Then we shall learn all the advantages and shall labor to make all these people Christians, because this can be done quickly, as they have no religion, nor are they idolaters; and Your Highnesses will command the erection, in these parts of a town and a fortress and these regions will become converted. I can certify to Your Highnesses that there can be no better or more fertile regions under the sun, whether as to climate or to the abundance of good and healthy water, so unlike the rivers of Guinea which are pestilential; and I praise the good Lord, that up to this time there has not one of my crew who has had so much as a headache, nor been in bed through sickness, save one old man who has been all his life a chronic sufferer, and who was only confined for two days. This applies to all three of my vessels. Thus, if it shall please God that Your Highnesses send here wise and learned men they will see the truth of all I say. And, if I have already spoken of a place for a town and fortress on the *Rio de Mares*, on account of the good harbor⁶³ and of the neighborhood, it is certain that all I have said is true; but there is no comparison between that place and this, nor with *La Mar de Nuestra Senora*, because here, there must be large towns inland with a numerous population, and productions of great value, because here and throughout all I have discovered and which I hope to discover before returning to Castile, I say that Christianity will gain much, as well as Castile to which all must be subjected. And I say that Your Highnesses should not consent to permit any strangers or foreigners to set foot here, except Catholic Christians, for this was the beginning and the end of the purpose which looked to the increase and glory of the Christian religion; and that no one not a Christian should visit these parts." All these are his own words. He sailed up the river and discovered several branches of it; and in cruising around the harbor, he found at the mouth of the river beautiful groves that appear-

63 The port of *Nueritas*.

ed like a delightful garden; he also came across a canoe made of a trunk that was as long as a twelve seated boat. It was very pretty, and covered by an sort of awning made of bark and palm leaves; so that neither sun nor water could penetrate into it; and he adds that this would be a very suitable place for a town and fort because of its splendid harbor, its good water, fertile land, agreeable surroundings and the abundance of wood.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28th.

They remained in port all day on account of the rain, although the wind blowing from the S W, they might have sailed along the coast. But as the thickness of the weather would have hindered the view of the land, the Admiral thought best to remain, especially considering the danger in not being acquainted with the coast. The crews went on shore to wash their clothes, and some of them went a distance into the country; they found large villages with the houses empty, the natives having fled.

They discovered another river, larger than that at the harbour.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29th.

As it continued to rain and the sky was completely covered with clouds, they did not set sail. Some of the Spaniards went to visit a town towards the N W, and found in the houses neither inhabitants nor furniture. On the way they met with an old man who was unable to escape, him they took, assuring him of their friendly disposition, and after presenting him with some trifles allowed him to depart. The Admiral was desirous of seeing him in order that he might give him some clothes, and have some conversation with him, for he was much delighted with the country and judged it to be very populous.

They found a cake of wax⁶⁴ in one of the houses, which they preserved for the King and Queen, and the Admiral was of opinion that where wax was found there must be a great many other valuable commodities.

⁶⁴ This wax was brought from Yucatan, and for that reason I believe this land to be Cuba. *Las Casas*.

In one of the houses was likewise found a man's head hanging from a beam in a small covered basket; the like they found in a house in one of the other villages. The Admiral thought these were the heads of the principal men, as the houses in which they were met with were of a very large size, and that the persons to whom they belonged were relations.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30th.

They could not put to sea, the wind being from the E, and contrary. The Admiral sent eight men armed, with two of the Indians on board, to explore the country, and obtain some communication with the inhabitants. They came to many houses without finding within them, person or thing, the inhabitants having fled. At length they discovered four young men digging in the fields, who perceiving the Spaniards took to flight, and could not be overtaken.

They traveled a considerable distance and saw a great many villages; the land was very fertile and the whole under cultivation. Large streams of water were seen, and in the neighborhood of one, they saw a canoe very finely built of a single log, it was ninety-five spans in length, and capable of carrying a hundred and fifty men.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1st.

They remained still in port, the wind continuing ahead with rain in abundance. At the entrance of this harbour, which was named *Puerto Santo*,⁶⁵ they set up a cross in the solid rock; the point where this was done, is in the southern part near the mouth, and whoever wishes to sail into the port, should keep near the northwesterly point rather than the other, the depth at the foot of each being twelve fathoms close to the shore, and free from obstructions; but at the entrance of the harbour near the southeasterly point there is a shoal which rises above the water, and so far from the shore that a vessel may pass between the point and it, in case of necessity. Round about the shoal and the point there is a depth of twelve and fifteen fathoms. Coming in, it is requisite to steer S W.

65 This is *Baracoa*.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2d.

The wind still contrary, they could not depart, although every night there blew a land breeze.

The Admiral states that there would be no danger of driving ashore in this harbour, in the most violent storms, by reason of the shoal at the entrance. In the mouth of the river a ship's boy found some stones which seemed to contain gold, these were preserved for the King and Queen. A lombarda shot from this place were large rivers.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3d.

Still detained in port by the weather. The Admiral resolved to visit a fine cape which he saw a mile distant from the harbour, at the S E. He accordingly went with the boats and some of the crew armed. At the foot of the cape he found the mouth of a pleasant river;⁶⁶ they rowed to the S E, to enter it, and found it a hundred paces wide: the depth at the mouth was a fathom, but within increased to twelve, and there was room enough for all the ships in Spain. Passing a branch of the stream, they proceeded to the S E, and came to a creek or cove, in which they saw five large canoes, very handsomely wrought, like *jistas*.

At the foot of the land they found the land all under cultivation. The woods were very thick, and in passing through them, they came to a shed very well built and tightly covered, so that neither sun nor rain could penetrate it: under it they found a canoe made like the others, from a log, as large as a *jista* of sixteen oars, it was well shaped, and very handsomely carved. They ascended a mountain and observed the country very level. Many productions were observed such as gourds, and the like, and the fields offered a delightful prospect. They came suddenly upon a large town and all the inhabitants upon perceiving them immediately fled. The Indians who accompanied the Spaniards called out to them not to fear, for they were friends. The Admiral caused them to be presented with hawks' bells, brass rings and strings of

green and yellow glass beads, with the which they were highly delighted. Having ascertained that they possessed no gold nor any precious commodity, the Spaniards returned to their boats. The country was found very populous, but the most of the inhabitants fled through fear. The Admiral declares to the King and Queen that these people are such cowards that ten men might put ten thousand of them to flight. They carry no weapons save sticks with the ends a little hardened in the fire, these were very easily obtained from them. Arrived at the boats, two men were sent off to a place where the Admiral thought he had seen a large beehive. Before their return, many Indians came to the boats where the Admiral was with his crew, and one of them jumped into the river and came to the stern of the Admiral's boat where he made a long speech, nothing of which was understood, except that the other Indians held up their hands to heaven from time to time, and uttered loud cries.

The Admiral was of opinion that they were assuring him of the pleasure which his arrival gave them, but presently observed that the Indians on board changed colour and trembled exceedingly, entreating the Admiral by signs to leave the river, for the natives were about to kill them all.

He then took a cross-bow from one of the Spaniards and held it out towards the Indian, and uttered a speech which the Admiral understood to be a menace of hostility against them. He also seized a sword, and drawing it from the scabbard showed it to them, using the same language, which being heard by those on shore they all took to flight. The Indian continued trembling and overpowered with fear, although a stout well made fellow.

The Admiral determined not to leave the river, but rowed for the shore towards a place where he saw many people, all of them naked and stained red, some with tufts of feathers on their heads, and all having javelins.

"I approached them says he, and gave them some pieces of bread, demanding their javelins, which they gave me for a hawks' bell to one, a little brass ring to another and a few beads to another. In this manner they were all pacified, and

came to the boats offering their articles for anything we chose to give them in return. A turtle had been killed, and the shell lay in pieces in the boat; the ship-boys purchased javelins of the Indians with it, at the rate of a handful of them for a scale. These people are like the others I have seen, and imagine we have come from heaven. They are ready to barter anything they possess for whatever we choose to give them, without objecting to the small value of it; and if they had species of gold, I believe it would be the same. I saw here a handsome house of a moderate size, with two doors as all the others are; I entered it and found a very singular contrivance in the manner of aloes, which I cannot describe; from the ceiling hung cockle shells and other things. I took it to be a temple, and called the Indians, demanding of them by signs, whether they offered up their devotions there, to which they replied in the negative, and one of them climbed up and gave me the ornaments which were hanging about; some of them I accepted.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4th.

They set sail with a light wind, and left this harbour, which received the name of *Puerto Santa*.

At two leagues distance they saw a fine river, mentioned yesterday.⁶⁷ Kept along the coast, and found it after having passed a cape, to run E S E, and W N W, to a cape which they named *Cabo Lindo*:⁶⁸ this is five leagues E by S. from another called *Cabo del Monte*, and a league and a half from the last is a river somewhat narrow, which appears to have a safe and deep entrance. Three miles from that, they saw another river, very large and which to appearance came from a distance, it was about a hundred paces wide, and eight fathoms deep, with a good entrance free from shoals; the water was fresh to the sea; these facts were learned by despatching a boat to sound and examine it: the river appeared to bring as great a volume of water to the sea, as any they had seen, and probably had many towns on its banks. Beyond *Cabo Lindo* there was a bay of considerable extent.

⁶⁷ Rio Boma.

⁶⁸ This is La *Punta del Fraile*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5th.

All last night they lay to off *Cabo Lindo*, in order to examine the land which extended to the east, and at sunrise discovered another cape⁶⁹ in that direction, two leagues and a half distant, which having passed, they found the coast began to tend toward the south and southwest and presently discovered a lofty and handsome cape in that direction about seven leagues from the last. The Admiral was inclined to steer that way, but his desire to visit the island of *Babeque*, which according to the Indians was to the southeast, restrained him. The wind, however, blowing from the northeast hindered him from steering that way, proceeding onward, therefore, he descried land in the southeast which appeared to be quite a large island, and according to the information of the Indians was very populous, and called *Bohio*. The inhabitants of *Cuba* or *Juana*, and those of the other islands entertained a great dread of these people, imagining them to be man-eaters. Other surprising relations the Indians communicated by signs to the Spaniards, of which the Admiral does not avow his belief, but thinks the Indians of *Bohio* to be a more ingenious and artful race than the others, as they were accustomed to make prisoners of them. The wind being northeast and inclining toward the north he determined to leave *Cuba* or *Juana*, which hitherto he had taken for a continent by its size, having sailed along the coast a hundred and twenty leagues. He therefore left the shore and steered southeast by east, as the land last discovered appeared in that direction. He took this course because the wind always came round from the north to northeast, and from thence to east and southeast. It blew hard and they carried all sail, having a smooth sea, and a current favoring them, so that from morning to one o'clock in the afternoon they sailed eight miles an hour, for nearly six hours; the nights are stated to be here nearly fifteen hours long. After this they went ten miles an hour, and by sunset had made progress of eighty-eight miles, which are twenty-two leagues, all to the southeast. As night was coming on the caravel *Niña*, being

69 Punta de los *Azules*.

a swift sailer, was despatched ahead to look out for a harbor, she came to the mouth of one⁷⁰ which resembled the bay of Cadiz, and it being dark, they send the boat to sound it; the boat carried a light, and before the Admiral could come up with the Niña, which was beating up and down, waiting for the boat to make her a signal to enter, the light disappeared. Upon this she stood off to sea, making a light for the Admiral, and coming up they related what had happened. Presently the light on board the boat again appeared, when the Niña stood in for the land; the Admiral was not able to follow, but remained beating about all night.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6th.

At day break he found himself four leagues from the harbour, which he named *Puerto Maria*, and saw a fine cape which bore south by west; to this he gave the name of *Cabo del Estrella*, it was twenty-eight miles distant, and appeared to be the southern extremity of the island. There appeared land in the east like an island of a moderate size, about forty miles distant. Another handsome and finely shaped headland was seen bearing east by south at a distance of fifty-four miles, this he called *Cabo del Elefante*. Another bore east, southeast, twenty-eight miles off, which he named *Cabo de Cinquin*. A large opening or bay which seemed to be a river was observed about twenty miles distant in the direction of southeast by east.

There appeared to be between the two last mentioned capes a very wide channel which the sailors said separated an island from the mainland; this island he named *Tortuga*.

The land here appeared lofty, and not mountainous but even and level like the finest arable tracts. The whole or great part of it seemed under cultivation, and the plantations resembled the wheat fields in the plain of Cordova in the month of May. Many fires were seen during the night, and by day, a great number of smokes, which to appearance were signals giving notice of some people with whom they were at war. The whole coast runs to the east. In the evening the Admiral entered the above mentioned harbor, which he

70 Port of the *Mole S. Nicolas* on the island of Hispaniola.

named *Puerto de San Nicolas*, it being the day of that saint; he was astonished on entering, to observe the goodness and beauty of the harbour, and although he had highly praised the ports of Cuba, he declares that this is not inferior to any of them, but rather exceeds and differs from them all. The entrance has a width of a league and a half, where a vessel should steer S S E, there being sufficient room to steer in any direction. It extends in this manner to the S S E, two leagues. Here is a fine beach with a river, and trees of a thousand sorts all loaded with fruit, which the Admiral took for spices and nutmegs, but being unripe he could not get any knowledge of them.

The water in this harbor is of a surprising depth, they not being able to reach bottom at a short distance from the shore with a line of forty fathoms; in other parts they found fifteen fathoms, and a clear bottom; not a shoal is to be seen throughout the harbour, and the shore is so bold that an oar's length from it the water is five fathoms deep. Here is room sufficient for a thousand carracks to sail about in. At the S S E, the harbour offers a recess opening towards the N E, of about half a league in depth, and preserving the same breadth throughout its whole extent. This is shut in after such a manner that within it the main entrance of the harbour cannot be seen.

The depth of the water is every where eleven fathoms; with a fine clear sand at the bottom; the shore is bold having eight fathoms of water within a few feet distance. Here is a fine dry air, and the shore around free from wood.

The land appeared the most rocky of any they had seen; the trees small, and many similar to those of Spain, as evergreen oaks, and strawberry trees. Since they had been in this part of the world, they had not experienced so cool a temperature of the air as they found at this place. A beautiful plain lay opposite the entrance of the harbour, through the midst of which flowed the river mentioned above. The neighborhood, the Admiral thought to be extremely populous, from the number and size of the canoes which were seen; some of them were as large as a *fusta* of

fifteen oars. The Indians all took to flight on perceiving the ships. Those whom the Spaniards had on board grew so earnest to return to their homes that the Admiral says he had some intention of carrying them thither at his departure from this place, and that they were mistrustful of him for not taking his route that way. For this reason he declares that he put no trust in any of their representations, nor they in his. They appeared to have the greatest fear imaginable for the people of this island. The Admiral found that if he wished to obtain any communication with those on shore, it would be necessary to wait here some days, which he was unwilling to do, as he could not depend upon the weather, and wished to make further discoveries. He hoped in our Lord that he should be able through the medium of the Indians on board, to have some conversation with them upon his return; and may it please the Almighty, says he that I may find some good traffic in gold before that time.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7th.

At day-break, they set sail and left the port of San Nicolas with a southwesterly wind, and stood on their course two leagues to the N E, towards a cape which forms the *carnero*, where a bay was seen to the S E, and *Cabo de la Estrella* to the S W, twenty-four miles distant. From thence they proceeded to the east, along the coast, about forty-eight miles to *Cabo Cinquin*, twenty miles of which course they had gone E by N. They found the land high and the water deep, close to the shore twenty and thirty fathoms, and a lombarda shot distant, no bottom; all which was proved by actual experiment of the Admiral through the day. He remarks that if the space between the bay above mentioned and the harbour of San Nicolas were cut through, it would form an island of three or four miles in circuit. The land, as before, very high and a tree not large but like evergreen oaks and strawberry trees, the country closely resembling Castile. Two leagues before arriving at *Cabo Cinquin*, they discovered an opening like a gap in the mountain within which was seen a very large valley, covered apparently with barley, a sign

that this valley abounded with settlements; at the back of it were lofty and extensive mountains. Arrived at *Cabo de Cinquin* they found *Cabo de Tortuga* to bear N E, thirty-two miles distant.

About a lombarda shot from *Cabo de Cinquin*, there is a rock rising above the water, very easily noticed. At this place *Cabo del Elefante* bore E by S, seventy miles distant, the land all very lofty. Six leagues further onward was a bay within which they discovered extensive valleys and fields, with very high mountains, the whole country appearing like Castile. At eight miles distance they found a river, which was narrow although deep, and might easily admit a carrack, the mouth without banks or shallows. Sixteen miles further along they came to a harbour, both broad and of such a depth that no bottom was obtained at the entrance, and the water was fifteen fathoms deep a few feet from the shore; it extended about a mile into the land. As the sky was very cloudy and threatened rain, an unfavourable state upon a coast, especially a strange one, the Admiral determined to put in here, although it was no later in the day than one o'clock, and a strong wind blew astern. This harbour he named *Puerto de la Concepcion*, and entering, landed near a small stream which flowed through fields and plains of wonderful beauty. They carried nets with them for fishing, and while rowing to the land, a skate similar to those of Spain, leaped into the boat; this was the first instance of their meeting with a fish which resembled those of their own country. Many of these were taken by the sailors, as well as soles, and other fish like the Spanish. Going some distance round the country they observed the soil all under cultivation, and heard the song of the nightingale and many other Spanish birds.

They met five Indians who immediately fled.

A myrtle tree was seen, and other trees and plants like those of Castile, which, in fact, the whole country resembles.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.

It rained very hard, with a strong north wind. The harbour was found secure from all winds except the north, which

caused a great surf, driving the vessels from their moorings. At midnight the wind shifted to the N E, and afterward to the E, from which quarter the harbour is well sheltered by the island of Tortuga, which lies off against it, thirty-six miles distant.⁷¹

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th.

This day it continued to rain and the weather seemed wintry like October in Castile.

No settlement except a single house was seen at the port of St Nicolas; this was a handsome one, and better constructed than those they had observed in other parts. This is a very large island, says the Admiral, and will undoubtedly measure two hundred leagues in circuit; the land is all cultivated to a high degree, and the towns are probably at a distance back in the country, the inhabitants fleeing at the approach of the strangers, carrying their property with them, and making signals by smoke about the country, as in a state of war.

The harbour here is about a thousand paces or quarter of a league wide at the mouth, without either bank or shoal, but exceedingly deep to the edge of the shore; it extends within about three thousand paces, with a fine clear bottom; any ship may enter it and anchor without the least hazard. Here are two small streams, and opposite the mouth of the harbour, several plains the most beautiful in the world, and resembling those of Castile, except that they surpass them. On this account the Admiral named the island, *Hispaniola*.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10th.

The wind blew strong from the N E, and they dragged their anchors with half the length of the cable, at which the Admiral wondered, and ordered the cables to be veered out.

Perceiving that the weather was unfavorable for his setting sail, he despatched on shore six men, well armed, and equipped, for the purpose of penetrating into the country and obtaining some communication with the natives.

71 The distance is only eleven miles.

They went and returned without seeing any of the inhabitants, or any dwellings save a few huts. They met with some narrow paths, and places where fires had been made. The country appeared the finest in the world, and they found mastic trees in abundance, but this was not the season for collecting it, as the gum does not concrete.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11th.

The wind blowing E, and N E, they did not set sail. Directly opposite the harbour as stated above, lies the island of Tortuga; this appears of a very large size, and the coast runs in the same direction as the island of Espanola, the distance between them being at the most, ten leagues,⁷² that is to say from *Cabo de Cinquin*, to the extremity of Tortuga, after which the coast tends to the south. The Admiral was desirous of proceeding along the channel between these two islands, in order to take a survey of Espanola, which affords the finest view in the world. The Indians also informed him that this was the course he must take to reach the island of *Babeque* which they described as very large, with rivers, valleys, and lofty mountains. The island of *Bohio*, they stated, was larger than that of *Juana*, which the inhabitants called *Cuba*, and was not surrounded by water, but as nearly as could be understood from them, was a continent, and situated behind Espanola, which they called *Caritaba*. The inhabitants of all these islands live in great fear of the people of *Caniba*, and the Admiral here repeats as he has done in many places, that *Caniba* means no other than the people of the Great Khan, who live somewhere in this neighborhood, and come in their vessels and make prisoners of the Indians, who not returning, their countrymen imagine their enemies have devoured them.

Each day, as the Admiral remarks, they improved in their communication with the Indians on board, and conversed with them without such misunderstandings as formerly. They sent on shore and found a great many mastic trees, but the gum would not harden; the Admiral thought that

⁷² It has been shown that this distance is only ten miles. These errors must have been made by Las Casas in copying.

this might be effected by water, and observes that in the island of Scio it is gathered in March, but these countries being warmer, it might probably be done in January. Many fish like those of Castile were taken, such as dace, salmon, poor jacks, dories, pampanos, skates, carvinas, and shrimps; pilchards were also seen. Vast quantities of aloe were met with on shore.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12th.

They were still unable to set sail, as the wind remained contrary. A large cross was set up at the entrance of the harbour, upon a beautiful spot upon the western side, as an indication in the words of the Admiral, that Your Highnesses possess the country, and principally for a token of Jesus Christ our Lord, and the honor of Christianity. This being done three sailors went into the woods to view the neighbourhood and presently heard a sound of the Indians, a crowd of whom they shortly after discovered completely naked; they pursued and called out after them, but they all took to flight. Having been directed by the Admiral to take some of the natives if possible, as he wished to show them some good offices, and dissipate their fear, thinking from the fine appearance of the country that something valuable might be obtained here, the Spaniards kept on in pursuit and succeeded in capturing a female, handsome and to appearance quite young; her they brought to the ships where the Admiral conversed with her by the interpretation of his own Indians, as their language was the same. He likewise caused her to be clothed, and presented her with glass beads, hawks' bells and rings of brass, dismissed her home with every civility. Some of the crew were sent with her, as also three of the Indians, for the purpose of communicating with the inhabitants.

The sailors who carried her ashore told the Admiral that she showed such reluctance to leave the ship, and seemed inclined to remain with the females on board, whom they had taken at *Puerto de Mares* and *Juana*.

The Indians with whom she was first in company, came in a canoe, and when they came to the entrance of the harbour and perceived the ships, abandoned their canoe, and fled

towards the houses whither she now directed the Spaniards. This woman wore a bit of gold at her nose, which was an indication that it was to be found in the island.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13th.

The three men whom the Admiral had despatched into the country with the woman, returned, not having gone to the Indian town, by reason either of the distance or their fear.

They affirmed that the next day there would come many of the inhabitants to the ships, as they would be encouraged by the accounts which the woman must give them.

The Admiral as he was desirous of ascertaining whether there was anything valuable, which he was inclined to believe on account of the beauty and fertility of the country, and wishing to do everything for the service of the King and Queen, resolved to send again to the town, confiding in the relation which the female must have given them of the friendly disposition of the Spaniards; for which purpose he selected nine persons from the crew, and despatched them well armed and fitted for the enterprise with one of his Indians.

They set out and proceeded to the town,⁷³ which they found in an extensive valley, four leagues and a half to the S E. It was deserted, as the inhabitants, perceiving the approach of the Spaniards, had all fled, leaving every thing behind them. The town consisted of a thousand houses, and more than three thousand inhabitants. The Indian who accompanied the Spaniards ran after the fugitives, calling out to them not to fear, for the strangers were not from *Cariba*, but from heaven, and gave many fine things to those whom they met. This had such an effect upon them, that they took courage, and came in a body of above a thousand to the Spaniards, putting their hands upon their heads which is a manifestation of great reverence and friendship; they stood trembling before them until the Spaniards by many assurances dissipated their apprehensions. The men further related that having overcome their dread, they went to their

⁷³ Subsequently known under the name of *Gros Morne*, situated on the banks of the *Rio de los Tres Rios* which empties half a mile west of Puerto de Paz.

houses, and each one came bringing food for their guests,¹⁴ which are roots resembling large radishes, cultivated throughout this country by the natives, and forming their principal subsistence; these they prepare by baking and roasting, and the bread thus made so nearly resembles chestnuts in taste, that it might easily be mistaken for a preparation of that fruit. The Indian who accompanied the Spaniards understanding that the Admiral wished to obtain a parrot told this, as they were led to suppose, to the inhabitants, who brought great numbers of them immediately to their guests, and gave them as many as they desired, without demanding anything in return. They entreated them not to return that night and promised them many things which they had in the mountains.

While they were together with the Spaniards, they espied a great multitude of people with the husband of the woman whom they had taken and entertained, this female they were carrying upon their shoulders, and came to return thanks to the Spaniards for the civilities which she had received from the Admiral, and the presents he had given her.

These people according to the relation of the men, were the handsomest, and best disposed of any they had yet seen. The Admiral says he knows not how they could be better disposed than those of the other islands; assuring us that he had found them of the very best disposition. As to beauty, the men stated that they exceeded the others beyond comparison, both males and females, being of a much lighter colour, and that two young females were seen as white as could be found in Spain. Moreover they affirmed that the most beautiful and excellent territories in Castile, could not equal those of this country; to which indeed, the Admiral bore testimony, both in those he had before visited, and in those of the present place, although he was informed that the land which he saw about the harbour was nothing in comparison with the valley where the town stood; to which the plain of Cordova was no more equal than the night was to the day. The country according to their relation was cultivated everywhere, and

a large and wide river capable of watering the whole territory, passed through the valley. The trees were flourishing and full of fruit, the plants very tall and luxuriant, the paths wide and commodious.

The temperature like April in Castile; the nightingale and other birds were singing as at that season in Spain, and producing as they said, the most delightful melody in the world. Crickets and frogs in abundance were heard; the fish were like the Spanish. Many mastic and aloe trees were seen, as also cotton shrubs. No gold was found, which was not surprising, they had been here so short a time. The Admiral here ascertained the length of the day and night and found that from sunrise to sunset there passed twenty glasses of half an hour each, although he says there may be some defect in the calculation from the glass not being turned quickly enough, or the contrary.

He states further that he took an observation with the quadrant and found the latitude to be thirty-four degrees.⁷⁵

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14th.

They left the port of *Concepcion* with a land breeze, which, however, soon died away; the same they had experienced every day they remained there. Afterwards the wind sprang up from the east, and they stood to the N N E, which course brought them to the island of Tortuga. They described a point of this island, which they named *Punta Pierua*; it was to the E N E, of this extremity of the island, about a dozen miles distant.

They also discovered another point to the N E, about sixteen miles off, this they called *Punta Lanzada*, it was forty-four miles, or eleven leagues from the extremity of the island, towards E N E. Along the coast were several extensive beaches, the whole island is high, but not mountainous, and the land offers a beautiful prospect; it is, moreover, populous, like *Es-panola*, and the country under such an extensive cultivation that it appears like the plain of Cordova. Finding the wind favorable for proceeding to the island of *Baneque* (*Babeque*)

75 This must be a mistake, as it should be twenty degrees.

the Admiral concluded to return to *Puerto de la Concepcion*. There was a river two leagues east of the harbor which he was unable to reach.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15th.

Left the *Harbor de la Concepcion* to proceed on regular course, but on putting to sea found a strong easterly wind ahead, whereupon the fleet steered for Tortuga, and on reaching the island put about and made for the river that had been seen the day before and could not reach, but was again disappointed in doing so, although they dropped anchor to leeward off a beach with a good clear anchorage.

Having secured his vessels the Admiral went with the boats to see the river, and entered an inlet half a league distant but found it was not the mouth. Putting back he discovered it with only a fathom's depth of water and a swift current. He entered with his boats in quest of the settlement which the men he had sent out two days before had seen. A hawser was carried ashore and the men towed the boats up the river against the current for a distance of two lombard shots, but were unable to proceed further because of the velocity of the current. Some dwellings were seen in the large valley where the town was situated, and the Admiral declared that he had never beheld a more beautiful prospect than that before him in the valley through which the river ran. Some of the natives appeared at the mouth of the river, but they fled immediately. The Admiral further remarks that these people must be attacked very frequently, as they seem to live in such terror, because whenever we came upon them they made signals by smoke all over the country, more especially on this island of Hispaniola and in Tortuga which is also a large island. He named this valley the *Vall del Paraiso* (Vale of Paradise), and the river *Guadalquivir* as he thought it was as wide as the river of that name at Cordoba; the banks were rocky but beautiful and easy to travel.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16th.

At midnight we put to sea with a light land breeze. At about the third watch the wind shifted to the E, and we stood

close upon it at a distance from the land, Halfway between Hispaniola and Tortuga, a canoe containing a single Indian appeared; the Admiral was greatly surprised, wondering how he could keep afloat under so strong a wind. He commanded the Indian and his canoe to be taken on board, and feasted him, presenting him with glass beads, hawks' bells and brass rings, and then took him in the ships to a village⁷⁶ near the shore, which was some sixteen miles distant, where the Admiral anchored, having found a good place near the village, which appeared to be quite new, as the houses gave evidence of recent construction. The Indian went ashore in his canoe and gave a favorable account of the Christians to his countrymen who were already predisposed in their favor from the information they had received from the inhabitants of the town which had been before visited by the six Christians. Presently there came to the shore more than five hundred men, and a little later, their king, and assembled together on the shore close to which the vessels were anchored. Before long they came singly and in crowds, but bringing nothing with them, except that a few had bits of very fine gold hanging from their ears and noses, which they gave to the strangers with great cheerfulness. The Admiral commanded every honor to be done to these people "because" as he observes, *"they are the best and gentlest people in the world, and especially as I have great hope in the Lord that Your Highnesses will make them all Christians, and that they may become your subjects, for, as such I already regard them."* He noticed also, that the king, who was on the shore, was receiving honors from the natives around him. The Admiral sent him a present which he received in great state. He appeared to be a young man of about twenty-one years, and was attended by an aged tutor and other counsellors who gave him their advice and answered all questions put to them. The king himself spoke but little. One of the Indians the Admiral had brought with him spoke to him, and told him that the Christians had come from heaven, that they were in search of gold and desired to go to the island of *Banegue*. He replied that this was well,

76 Puerto de Paz.

and that there was much gold on that island, and he indicated to the *Alguacil* of the Admiral, who carried the present, the course he should take; that he could make it in two days, and that if there was anything in his domains which the strangers required he would gladly give it to them. This king as well as his subjects, men and women, went about as naked as when they were born, without the slightest consciousness of indecorum. They are the finest specimens of humanity the Spaniards had yet come across, and if clothed and protected from the sun and the wind, would be nearly as fair as the inhabitants of Spain; the temperature here is mild and the best the tongue can describe. The land is very lofty and covered with plains and valleys and the highest mountains could be ploughed with oxen. There is not in all Castile a territory to be compared to this for beauty and fertility. The whole island and that of Tortuga are covered with cultivated fields like the plains of Cordova. They also raise *ajjes*, which are shps set in the ground, at the foot of which grow roots like carrots; these are grated to powder, kneaded up and made into bread, of a very pleasant taste, like chestnuts. The stalk is set out anew, and produces another root, and this is repeated four or five times. The largest and most excellent that has been met with anywhere (the Admiral says they are also found in Guinea) were those of this island, being as large as a man's leg. The inhabitants here, he says are stout and courageous and not slender and timid like those found on other islands; gentle in speech and without religion. The trees grew with such luxuriance that their leaves were rather black than green. It was really delightful to view the valleys, the beautiful streams of water; the fields of bread fruit; the pastures adapted to herds of all descriptions, but which were no where to be found here; and the grounds adapted for gardens, and for everything that man's taste could ask. In the evening the king came on board and the Admiral did him due honor, and had him informed that he was a subject of the Sovereigns of Castile who were the greatest princes in the world. But neither the Indians the Admiral brought with him, who acted as interpreters, nor the king himself be-

lieved anything else but that they came from heaven, where they believed the kingdoms of the Sovereigns of Castile to be situated, and not upon earth. Food from Castile was presented to the king, but he merely tasted it and passed it all to his tutor and counsellors and the others he had brought with him. Your Highnesses may well believe that these countries are so extensive, so excellent and fertile, especially the island of Hispaniola, that no man is competent to describe them, and no one would believe it who had not seen it. And Your Highnesses, may believe that they are as much yours as your own Castile, and that nothing is wanting for the purpose but a settlement here, and orders as to your pleasure. With the men I have with me, who are not very numerous, I can explore these islands without opposition, for I have seen three of my sailors go ashore, and a whole multitude of Indians take flight without offering to resist them. They are all naked and have neither arms nor any knowledge of their uses. So timid are they that a thousand of them would not stand against three of us. Hence they are well adapted to being governed and set to work to till the land and do whatever is necessary. They may also be taught to build houses, wear clothes and adapt our customs."

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17th.

It blew all night from E N E, but the sea was not high because of its being sheltered by the island of Tortuga. Remained at anchor all day, and the crew was sent out to fish with nets. The Indians were very much pleased with their intercourse with the Christians, and brought them certain arrows which belong to the people of Caniba, or *Canibals*. These were stalks of cane, pointed at the ends with large sticks, which were sharpened and hardened in the fire. They were shown by two men who had lost certain portions of flesh from their bodies. These, they told the Admiral, had been eaten by the Canibals, but he did not believe them. Some of the crew were sent on shore to the village, and in exchange for some strings of beads brought some pieces of gold beaten out into thin plates. They saw a native whom

the Admiral took for the governor of the district and whom the Indians call *cacique*; he had a plate of gold as large as his hand which he seemed anxious to barter; this he carried to his house, and had cut into pieces and traded them off one by one. When it was all disposed of, he made known, by signs, that he had sent for more which would arrive next day. These things, with the general manners of the people, their practice of interchanging advice and gentleness of behaviour show them to be more intelligent than the others the Spaniards had seen up to that time. In the evening came a canoe with forty men from the *island of Tortuga*, and as soon as they arrived all the Indians on shore sat down in token of friendship, and most of those in the canoe landed. The *Cacique* now stood up and addressing them in words of threats, sent them back to their canoes and threw water at them. He also took up stones from the beach and threw them into the sea; and, after all had yielded obedience and returned to their canoe he put a stone into the hand of the Alguacil whom the Admiral had sent ashore with the Notary and others, that he might throw it at the canoe but he declined doing so. The canoe immediately departed. The *Cacique* made every demonstration of favor towards the Admiral, and told him that at Tortuga there was more gold than at Hispaniola, as it was nearer to *Baneque*. The Admiral gives it as his opinion that neither at Hispaniola nor at Tortuga are there any gold mines, but that it is brought from *Baneque*, and that these people get but little, because they have nothing to give in exchange for it, their country being so extensive that the inhabitants are not obliged to work much for their sustenance nor to obtain clothing, seeing they do not wear any. The Admiral believed himself to be very near the place where gold abounded, and that the Lord was about to direct him thither. He learned further that *Baneque* was distant four days' sail, which represented some thirty or forty leagues, which distance, under a fair wind, he could make in a single day.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18th.

Remained on this coast all day for want of wind, and also

because the Cacique had been asked to bring gold, not that the Admiral expected a large quantity seeing that there are no mines here, but to obtain a better idea of where it was to be had. At sunrise the Admiral commanded the ship and the caravels to be decorated with flags and bunting in honor of the day, it being the feast of the Expectation of the B.V.M. or Commemoration of the Annunciation. There was quite a discharge of lombards, and the king of that *Island of Hispaniola* (says the Admiral) had started at a very early hour for his residence, which, as near as could be ascertained, was some five leagues distant, and that he reached it about nine o'clock where he already found some of the ship's crew whom the Admiral had sent to find out whether any gold was coming. These reported that more than two hundred men were coming with the king who was being carried on a sort of litter by four men, and that he was young as has already been stated.

To-day, as the Admiral was dining under the ship's castle the king arrived at the vessel with all his people. And, says the Admiral to his Sovereigns; "Without doubt, Your Highnesses would have admired the state and respect shown him by all around him. As soon as he came on board and saw that I was dining under the castle, he came quickly towards me and sat down beside me, not giving me an opportunity of rising to meet him, but insisted that I should keep my seat and continue eating. I thought he might like to eat some of our food and ordered some brought to him. Now, when he had come to where I was he made signs with his hands to his followers to remain outside, and they obeyed with all alacrity and submission, and all sat down on the deck, except two men of mature age whom I took to be his counsellors and tutor, who came and sat at his feet. Of the food I placed before him, he took only so much as politeness required and then passed it along to his people and all ate of it. He did the same with the drink, which he simply touched to his lips and then gave it to the others. All this was done with the most striking dignity and very few words; but what he did say, so far as I was able to learn, was very deliberate and full of wis-

dom, and his two counsellors watched his lips, and they spoke to him and for him, all with the greatest deference imaginable. After the meal was over an attendant brought forward a belt not unlike those of Castile in form, but of different workmanship, which he took and presented to me, and also two pieces of wrought gold very thin, and of which metal I believe they have very little here. I think, however, that we are not far from where it is to be had and where it abounds. I noticed that he seemed much pleased with a piece of drapery that was on my bed. I gave it to him, together with some very fine amber beads which were hanging around my neck, and a pair of colored shoes and a flask of orange water, with which he seemed highly delighted, and he and his tutor and counsellors expressed the greatest regret at their inability to understand me, and me to understand them. But, I was able to make out that he said to me that if there was anything anywhere on the island I desired he would be most happy to give it to me. I sent for some gold coins I had, on which were stamped the efigies of Your Highnesses, and showed them to him, and repeated what I had said to him yesterday that Your Highnesses commanded and governed the best part of the world and there were no greater princes than you are. I showed him the royal banners and the standard of the Cross, and he admired them greatly, but neither he nor his counsellors could be made to believe that we came from anywhere but heaven and they wondered how I had been sent so far away from there without fear for me; and many other things which I could not understand, but which I knew filled them with wonder. When it grew late, and the Cacique desired to depart the Admiral sent him in his launch with great state, and fired many salutes. On reaching the shore he mounted his palanquin and departed with his two hundred men, while his son followed borne upon the shoulders of an Indian, a very honored man. Whenever he met any of the sailors or the fleet's crew he ordered food to be given them and that they be shown every honor. One of the sailors who met them says that all the presents the Admiral had given him were carried before the king by men who seemed to be

held in the highest honor. The king's son was borne behind the king for some time followed by a large concourse of people like himself, and then the king's brother followed, except that the king's brother walked supported by two very honorable men. The latter came to the ship after the king, to whom the Admiral made some presents and from whom the Admiral learned that the king was called in their language, *Cacique*. On this day very little gold was obtained, but the Admiral was informed by an old man that there were many islands in the vicinity, within a hundred leagues or more, as he understood it, in which there is much gold, and he went so far as to say that there was one island that was all gold, that in others it is so plentiful that it is gathered up and sifted as in a sifter and melted and made into rods and otherwise wrought: they indicated the manner of working it by signs. This old man pointed out to the Admiral the course he should take to go there, and the Admiral said that if this man were not so prominent a member of the king's household he would take him with him, or that if he could speak the language he would urge him to accompany him and he felt sure that, on account of the friendly relations existing between him and the Christians, he would cheerfully do so. But, as he had already won these people over to the Sovereigns of Castile, the Admiral did not wish to offend them, so he would not insist on taking the old man. He erected a large cross in the centre of the village, and from the readiness with which the natives assisted, and from their implicit imitation of the Christians in their acts of devotion, the Admiral inferred that it would be an easy matter to convert them all to Christianity.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19th.

We set sail to-night to leave the gulf formed by the island of Tortuga and Hispaniola.

Upon the approach of day the wind shifted to the E, for which reason they were unable through the day to get out from between the islands; night coming on they found it impossible to reach a harbour they saw near.

In the neighborhood of that place they espied four capes,

and a bay and river, also another large bay where there was a village, in the rear of which they saw a valley among several very high mountains; these mountains were covered with trees which the Admiral judged to be pines. At the back of the capes which he called *Los dos Hermanos*, there was a mountain very large and high, which runs from N E, to S W, E S E, from another cape named *Cabo de Torres* there was a little isle which he called Saint Thomas, the next day being the anniversary of that saint.

He judged that this whole country abounded in capes and excellent harbours, from what he could observe at sea. West of the isle above mentioned, was a cape running far into the sea, lofty in some parts and in others low, from this circumstance he named it *Cabo alto y bajo*. Seventy miles E, by S, from *Camino de Torres* was a mountain loftier than any other, which extended into the sea; it appeared like an island, on account of a gap towards the land; he called it *Monte Caribata*, as the district around was named *Caribata*; it was a height without clouds or snow, but covered with beautiful flourishing trees.

The weather here, with respect to the air and temperature was like March in Castile, and the trees and herbs as in May in that country. The nights were fourteen hours long.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20th.

At sunset this day they entered a harbour between the island of Saint Thomas and Cabo de Caribata; here they anchored.

This harbour was found a very good one, and capacious enough to hold all the ships in Christendom. The entrance appeared impracticable from without, on account of several ledges of rocks which run from the mountain nearly to the island; these are scattered about in an irregular manner, some near the land and others off at sea, which renders it necessary to take great care in sailing in, the channels being very narrow, although deep having seven fathoms of water, and within the rocks twelve fathoms.

A ship might lie here moored with any sort of rope, and be safe from all winds.

Near the mouth of the harbour was a plantation of canes at the west of a little sandy islet, which was overgrown with trees, at the foot of which were seven fathoms water. The harbour is safe from all the storms which can blow. From this place appeared a wide and cultivated valley, which descended to the sea from the S E, and was totally shut in by exceedingly tall mountains which seemed to rise to heaven; these presented the most delightful view, being covered with luxuriant trees. No doubt there are mountains here loftier than the island of Teneriffe which is held to be the highest in the world. Here is another isle⁷⁷ a league from that of Saint Thomas, and further in another, all having fine harbours, but where it is necessary to look out for the shoals. Villages were seen, and smoke made by the inhabitants.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21st.

The Admiral went with the boats to examine the harbour, and after having surveyed it declares that it is equaled by none which he has seen elsewhere. He excuses himself, saying that he has been so abundant in his praises of the others, that he has nothing left to say for this, and adds that he fears to be taken for an extravagant exaggerator of the truth, but is encouraged by the reflection that he has in his company mariners of experience who will confirm his account. He repeats that the commendations he has bestowed upon the other ports are true, and the superiority he has assigned this, he affirms to be true likewise, adding, "I have followed the seas for twenty-three years without being on shore any space of time worth accounting, and have seen all the East and West, and been to the North where England is situated and even to Guinea, but in none of these countries are to be found ports of such excellence as are to be met with here;

(Here a line is missing in the original.)

and as I go on making discoveries they⁷⁸ better

⁷⁷ Las Ratas.

⁷⁸ Word missing in original.

and better, as I find by carefully examining my journal; and I again affirm that this is superior to them all, and large enough to contain all the ships in the world, and so well sheltered that a ship might ride with safety, although moored with the rottenest rope in the world. From the entrance to the extremity of the harbour is a distance of five leagues.⁷⁹ Fields were seen under cultivation, indeed this was the case everywhere. Two men were despatched from the boats, and ordered to ascend a height and look out after the villages of the inhabitants, as none were seen from the sea, although it was judged there were some in the neighborhood, by a canoe with Indians having come last night about ten o'clock, to gaze at the ships, these men the Admiral presented with some trifles which pleased them greatly. The two Spaniards returned, informing that they had discovered a large town⁸⁰ at a little distance from the sea; the Admiral ordered the boats to row that way, and presently espied several Indians coming down to the shore; they seemed to be fearful of the Spaniards, and the Admiral directed the boats to be stopped and the Indians on board to speak to those on land and tell them they were friends, upon which the natives came close to the water's edge and the boats proceeded to land; the inhabitants now banished all their fears, and came down in such numbers as to cover the beach, making a thousand civilities to the Spaniards, men, women, and children. They ran here and there bringing bread made of *niames*, which they named *ajes*, this was very white and good; they also brought water in calabashes and earthen vessels shaped like the pitchers of Castile. Whatever thing they were in possession of, and knew the Spaniards wanted, they offered with great pleasure and the utmost liberality. The Admiral remarks, these could not be deemed gifts of mean value, although their intrinsic worth was small, because every thing was given with the greatest generosity; a piece of gold was offered with as willing readiness as a calabash of water, and it is easy to perceive when a thing is given with a good will. These people have neither

⁷⁹ Should be five miles.

⁸⁰ Village of *Aceil*.

staves, javelins nor any other weapons, and this I have remarked of all the inhabitants of this island, which appears to me to be very large. They are all as naked as they were born, both men and women, whereas in *Juana*, and the other islands the females wear a small covering of cotton at the waist, especially those above a dozen years, but neither old nor young practice it here. In other places we have found the inhabitants anxious to conceal their women from us, but here they displayed no such jealousy. The females at this place possess fine shapes, and were the first to give thanks to heaven upon our arrival, and bring us offerings, especially bread of *ajes* and five or six sorts of fruit. These last the Admiral caused to be preserved for the King and Queen.

The same treatment they had received from the women in other parts before the men took care to keep them out of sight. The Admiral gave strict orders that the utmost attention should be paid not to give offence to the natives in any thing, and that no article should be taken from them without his permission, in this manner they were paid for every thing they gave the Spaniards. The Admiral remarks that he believes no one ever met with a people of such a liberal and generous disposition, which was exercised to such a degree that they were ready to rob themselves of every article of property to oblige their guests, flocking to them with offerings wherever they arrived. He sent six of his men to examine the town which had been seen, to these the Indians showed every honour they could invent, and presented such things as they had, not doubting in the least that the Admiral and all his crew had come from heaven, which also the Indians on board still continued to think, notwithstanding what the Spaniards had told them.

The men being gone to the town, there came several canoes from a sovereign in the neighborhood, to request the Admiral on leaving this place to visit his town. The Admiral perceiving great crowds of people waiting for him upon a point of land, proceeded thither, when there came down to the shore immense multitudes, men, women, and children crying out to them, but remain there. The ambassadors

of the prince above mentioned, were all this time waiting with their canoes, lest he should go away without complying with their invitation. The Admiral then set off, and arriving near the place where the prince was waiting to receive him, this sovereign ordered all his people to seat themselves upon the ground, he then despatched men with provisions to the boats which seeing that the Spaniards accepted the greater part of the Indians ran off to the town which, was probably near and came back, bringing more, along with parrots and other things, which they offered with surprising liberality. Although they demanded nothing in return, the Admiral gave them glass beads, hawks' bells, and brass rings, as he thought it but just that payment should be made them, and in particular as he says, because he looked upon them as Christians, and more the subjects of the King and Queen, than the people of Castile. He adds that nothing is wanting but to know their language and give them orders, as they will perform every thing commanded them without making the least opposition. He then left the place to return to the ships, the Indians all calling out, men, women, and children and entreating him to remain among them.

Several canoes full of men followed the boats to the ships, these the Admiral treated with much civility and gave them food and other presents. Great numbers came from the shore swimming about the ship, which was about half a league from the land. While the Admiral was upon his visit there came another prince from the westerly part of the island, and not finding him he returned. The Admiral sent some men to visit and obtain information from him; these he received very graciously and conducted towards his town where he intended to give them large pieces of gold; they went along with him until they came to a wide river, which the Indians passed by swimming, but the Spaniards being unable to cross it, turned back. All this neighborhood abounds in mountains so lofty that they seem to reach the skies. The Peak of Teneriffe is nothing in comparison with them either for height or beauty. These are all covered with wood and vegetation to a delightful manner, and include among them many

beautiful plains. At the south of this harbour is a plain so extensive that the eye cannot reach the end, it is probably fifteen or twenty leagues in extent, without the interruption of a single eminence; it contains a river and is inhabited and cultivated throughout, being at present as green and flourishing, as the fields in Castile in May or June, although the nights are here fourteen hours long, and this country so far to the north. The harbour here is well sheltered from every wind that can blow, being deep and well shut in. Ships may also lie here in perfect safety from an incursion during the night from without; for although the entrance has a width of more than two leagues, it is confined by a couple of rocky ledges nearly on a level with the water, leaving a very narrow passage which seems almost the work of art.

In the mouth of the harbour there are seven fathoms depth of water, this continues to a level islet which has a beach and is covered with trees. The entrance is to the west, where a ship may sail in without fear, coming close to the rock.

Towards the N W, are three islands and a large river, a league from the cape of this harbour. This being Saint Thomas's day, the Admiral named the harbour *The port of the Sea of Saint Thomas*, calling it a sea, from its size.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22d.

At daybreak they set sail to go in search of the islands where, as the Indians told them, there was much gold and in some of them more gold than earth; but found the weather unfavorable and returned to their anchorage, when the boat was despatched with nets for fishing. The sovereign of the country⁸¹ who resided in the neighbourhood sent a large canoe full of men, with one of his principal attendants requesting the Admiral to come with the ships to his territory, promising him any thing he had. He sent by this messenger a girdle to which was attached instead of a pouch, a mask having the nose, tongue and ears of beaten gold.

81 This was Guacanagari, sovereign of Marien, where Columbus built a fort, and left 39 of his men at his return to Spain.

The Indians in the canoe, meeting the boat, gave the girdle to a ship's boy, and proceeded on board the ship with their embassy. Some time passed before they could be understood, the Indians on board not comprehending them, as their language was somewhat different from that of the others; finally they made out to express themselves by signs, and made known their invitation.

The Admiral determined to accept it, and came to a resolution to sail the next day, which was Sunday, although he was not accustomed to put to sea on that day; this arose from devotion and not from any superstitious scruples. Besides, entertaining a hope that these people by the willingness they manifested, would become Christians, and subjects of Castile, and already looking upon them in that light, he was desirous of doing every thing to oblige them. Before quitting this place he sent six of his men to a very large town, three leagues to the west, the prince of that place having visited the Admiral the preceding day and told him that he had several pieces of gold.

With these men he sent his secretary, whom he charged to take care that the Spaniards did nothing wrong to the Indians, for these were so liberal, and the Spaniards so immeasurably greedy, that they were not satisfied with receiving the most valuable of what the inhabitants possess, in exchange for a leather thong, a bit of glass or earthen ware, or other worthless trifles, and sometimes for nothing at all, which, however, the Admiral had always prohibited. Although the articles which the Indians offered were of little value, except the gold, yet the Admiral considering the readiness with which they parted with them, as giving a piece of gold for half a dozen strings of glass beads, ordered that nothing should be taken from them without paying for it. The Spaniards arriving at the town the prince took the secretary by the hand, and led him accompanied by a great multitude of people, to his house, where victuals were set before the Spaniards, and large quantities of cotton cloth and balls of yarn brought them. Late in the evening the Spaniards returned, the prince presenting them with three fat geese and some bits of gold;

a great number of the Indians accompanied them back and insisted upon carrying their goods for them across the rivers and miry places. The Admiral made the prince some presents, at which he and all his people showed the greatest pleasure, and thought themselves happy in gazing upon the Spaniards, whom they believed to have come from heaven. This day more than a hundred and twenty canoes came to the ships, all filled with people, and every one bringing something, in particular bread, fish, and water in earthen pitchers, as also a kind of seed which serves very well for a spice; of this they put a grain in a cup of water and drank it. The Indians on board the ships affirmed that it was very wholesome.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23d.

The want of wind compelled them to remain here still, and the Admiral despatched the boats with his secretary to the prince from whom he had received the invitation the day before.

While they were gone he sent two of his Indians to visit the towns in the neighbourhood, these returned bringing a prince of the country with them, and the information that gold was to be had in that island in as great plenty as could be desired, the people coming thither from all parts to obtain it. More persons arrived who confirmed this account, and showed the manner of collecting it; this the Admiral understood with difficulty, but still held it for certain that the metal must exist in abundance in these parts, where on finding the spot it might be got for little or nothing.

He remarks that he is confirmed in his opinion by having in the three days he has been here, received many large pieces, and cannot believe it is brought thither from other places. He utters these words, "*Our Lord, in whose hands are all things, be my help, and order every thing for his service.*"

More than a thousand of the inhabitants visited the ships, every one bringing something; their custom was on arriving within half a bow shot, to stand up in their canoes, holding out their offerings in their hands, and exclaiming "Take! Take." Besides these there came about five hundred swimming for

want of canoes, the ships being anchored near a league from the shore. Five princes with all their families came among the rest to visit the Spaniards to all whom the Admiral made presents, esteeming every thing given them well bestowed.

'Our Lord in his mercy,' says he 'direct me where I may find the gold mine, as I have many here who profess to be acquainted with it.' At night the boats returned and informed that they had gone a great distance, and at the mountain of *Caribatan* had met with canoes full of people, coming from the place where the Spaniards were going, to visit the Admiral; these turned back and accompanied the Spaniards to the town,⁸² which they found the largest and most regular with respect to the streets, of any that had been seen; it was situated nearly three leagues to the southeast of *Puna Santa*.⁸³

The canoes rowing faster than the boats, slipped ahead and carried the intelligence of their arrival to the *Cacique* as they called him. Hitherto the Admiral had been unable to learn whether this was the name of a king or a governor. They have another name for their chief people, which is *Nitayno*;⁸⁴ whether this signified governor, nobleman, or judge, could not be ascertained. Finally the Cacique came to them, and all the people sat down in the plaza which had been carefully swept, and there were more than two thousand men. This king did much honor to the ship's people, and his subjects brought to each one something to eat and to drink. After this the king gave each one of the Spaniards some cotton goods, and parrots for the Admiral, together with some pieces of gold. The natives also gave some cotton goods and other things in their houses to the sailors in exchange for the small trifles given them and which they prized very highly as relics. When in the afternoon the strangers desired to depart, the king besought them to remain another day, so also did the entire population. Seeing they were determined to start, they accompanied them a good part of the way, indeed,

⁸² Guarico.

⁸³ San Honorato.

⁸⁴ A Nitayno was a grandee next in rank to the king.—Las Casas.

as far as their boats which were at the entrance of the river.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 24th.

Weighed anchor under a land breeze about sunrise. Among the many Indians who visited the vessel yesterday, and who by signs indicated that there was gold on that island, and named the places where they obtained it, the Admiral saw one who seemed more disposed to be sociable, and he tried to prevail upon him to go with him and show him where these gold mines were situated. This Indian brought a companion or relative with him, who, among other places they named where gold might be found, mentioned Cipango, which they call *Uivao*, and they declare that there is here a large quantity of gold and that the Cacique has banners of beaten out gold, but it is very far to the east. The Admiral here says these words to his Sovereigns, "Your Highnesses may well believe that there can be no better or more gentle people in the whole world. Your Highnesses should be greatly rejoiced, because you will later make Christians of them, and they will be instructed in the better habits of your kingdoms.

There can be no finer land nor people anywhere, and so abundant is everything that I am at a loss as to how to describe it. I spoke in the most exalted manner of the people of *Juana* which the natives call *Cuba*, but there is as much difference between them and these as there is between day and night; nor can I believe that any one else who may have seen them could possibly say less than I have. I repeat it and I say that it is really wonderful all one sees of the things and people of this place, and of the large towns of this island of *Hispaniola*, which I so named but which the natives call *Bohio*. They are all so tractable and kind, so gentle in their speech, and not like others who speak in a sort of menacing tone. The men and women are of good size and not black. It is true that all stain themselves, some black, some other colors, but most of them red. I have learned that they do this to counteract the injurious effects of the sun. Their houses and villages are so beautiful; there is so much grace and dignity about the people; they are so obedient to their

chiefs, and these personages are so dignified, use so few words have beautiful manners and are commanded almost entirely by signs, and the readiness with which they are understood is really marvelous. All these are the Admiral's own words.

Whoever would enter this sea of *Santo Tome* must stand for a small level island at the entrance which was named *La Amiga*, and coming within a stone's throw, must keep to the west of the island, hugging the shore, as a large reef juts out from the west, and extends about a lombarda shot towards the island. The depth of the channel at its shoalest part is seven fathoms, with a gravel bottom, whilst within there is room for all the ships in the world, and where they may lie without moorings. There are two or three shoals outside, with other large shoals and a reef to the E, extending towards the island of *La Amiga*, and far into the sea; covering two leagues towards the cape; but among these there appeared to be a channel two lombarda shots from *La Amiga*, and the foot of Mount Caribatan, a spacious and very good harbour.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 25th.

Sailing under a light wind all day yesterday from the sea of *Santo Tome* to *Punta Santa* he stood off about a league, until eleven o'clock at night, when the Admiral resolved to seek repose, as he had not slept for two days and a night. The sea was so perfectly calm that the helmsman also went to sleep and left the wheel in charge of a boy, a thing the Admiral had always strictly forbidden whether in wind or calm. The Admiral felt perfectly secure from all danger from rocks and bars, because on Sunday when he sent his boats to the king of that country, they had passed to the east of the said *Punta Santa* full three and a half leagues, and he ascertained just where he could pass, a thing which had not occurred during the whole voyage.

The Lord permitted that at about twelve o'clock on this night, when, as we have seen, the Admiral had gone to rest, and a dead calm prevailed, the sea being like a pond and all had gone to rest and the wheel was left in charge of a mere boy, that the current which ran along the coast carried the

vessel quietly upon a sand-bar. The boy had not noticed the breakers, although they made a noise that might be heard a league. No sooner, however, did he feel the rudder strike, and hear the tumult of the roaring sea, than he began to cry for aid. The Admiral was the first on deck; so quickly had all this happened, and so quietly, that no one was aware that the ship had run aground. The master of the ship whose duty it was to have been on watch, next came on deck, followed by others of the crew, half awake. The Admiral ordered them to take the boat and carry out an anchor astern, to warp the vessel off. The master and sailors sprang into the boats, but in their confusion, instead of obeying orders, rowed off to one of the caravels about half a league to windward. In the meantime, the master had reached the caravel and made known the dangerous condition of the vessel. He was reproached for his cowardly desertion, and the commander of the caravel manned his boat and hastened to the relief of the Admiral, followed by the recreant master overwhelmed with shame and confusion. It was too late to save the ship, the current having carried her higher upon the bar. The Admiral seeing that his boat had deserted him, that the ship had swung across the stream and that the water was continually gaining upon her, ordered the mast to be cut away, in the hope of lightening her sufficiently to float her off. His efforts were all in vain. The keel was firmly embedded in the sand; the shock had opened several seams, and the swell of the breakers striking her broadside left her, each moment more and more aground, until she fell over to one side. Fortunately the weather continued calm, otherwise the ship must have gone to pieces.

The Admiral took his men on board the caravel, and immediately sent Don Diego de Arana, chief judge of this armament, and Pedro Gutierrez, the King's butler, ashore, as envoys to the Cacique, Guacanagari, to inform him of the intended visit of the Admiral and of his disastrous shipwreck. In the meantime, as a light wind had sprung up from the shore, and the Admiral was uncertain of his situation, and of the rocks and bars that might be lurking around him, he lay

to until daylight. The dwelling of the Cacique was about a league and a half from the wreck. When he heard of the misfortune of his guest, he displayed the greatest sorrow, and was moved even to tears. He immediately sent all his people with all the canoes, large and small, that could be mustered; and so active were they in their assistance, that in a very short time the vessel was unloaded. The Cacique himself and his brothers and relatives, rendered all the aid in their power, both on sea and land. Vigilant guard was kept so that everything be conducted with order and the property secured from injury or theft. From time to time, he sent members of his family or some principal persons among his attendants, to console and cheer the sorrow stricken Admiral, and to assure him that everything on the island should be at his disposal. The Admiral assures his Sovereigns that in no part of Castile, nor indeed, of the world, were the duties of hospitality more rigorously observed. All the effects landed from the ships were deposited near his dwelling, and an armed guard surrounded them all night, until houses could be procured in which to store them. There seemed to be, however, even among the common people, no disposition to take advantage of the misfortune of the strangers. There was not the least attempt to pilfer and in transporting the cargo from the ship there was not so much as a needle missing. Indeed, the Cacique and his people wept in sympathy with the Spaniards in their misfortune. So loving, so tractable, so kind, are these people, says the Admiral, "that I assure Your Highnesses, there is not in the world a better land nor a better nation. They love their neighbors as themselves; their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though, it is true that they go about as naked as when they were born, their manners are decorous and praiseworthy. Believe me, Your Highnesses, they are a wonderful people; the king bears his state with dignity, his manners are so continent that it is a pleasure to see him. The people have marvelous memories, they wish to see everything and they ask the reason for everything and the use of everything." All this says the Admiral.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26th.

With the morning sun came the king of that country to the caravel Niña, where the Admiral had established his quarters, and told him, with tears of sympathy in his eyes, not to worry, and that he would give him anything he possessed. He had already given two very large houses to the Christians who were on shore to shelter them and to receive their effects landed from the wreck and he offered to furnish more if necessary, and all the canoes needed for transportation; even as he had done the day before, without so much as the loss of a crumb of bread or of anything else. "*So faithful,*" says the Admiral, "*and without covetousness of another's goods, are these people, and most especially their righteous King.*" While they were conversing, a canoe came from another part of the island bringing pieces of gold to be exchanged for hawks' bells, because there was nothing upon which the natives set so much value as upon these toys. Hardly had the canoes come up with the ships than they displayed their pieces of gold, crying out "*chuq! chuq!*" for hawks' bells, for which they seem to have a perfect mania. After all this had taken place and the canoes were going away, as they came from other places, they called back to the Admiral to save a hawks' bell until the next day and they would bring for it four pieces of gold as large as a man's hand. The Admiral seemed pleased at this, and later on a sailor came from shore and told the Admiral that it was wonderful how much gold the Christians ashore were getting for mere nothing; for a strip of leather they would give pieces worth more than two *Castellanos*, and that this was nothing to what they would get within a month. This information was cheering to the Admiral and the Cacique perceiving the pleasure that shone on his countenance asked what the sailor had said. On learning that the Admiral was so anxious to obtain gold, he assured him by signs, that there was a place not far off among the mountains, where it abounded to such a degree, as to be deemed of very little value, and promised to get him from there as much as he desired. The place to which he alluded was *Cipango*,

which the natives call *Cibao*;⁸⁵ there was also gold to be had in large quantities on the island of *Hispaniola* which they call *Bohio*, and in the province of *Caribata*.

The king dined on board the caravel with the Admiral after which he invited him to visit his residence on shore. Here he prepared a collation as choice and as abundant as his simple means could afford, consisting of utias and coney, fish, and of a bread which they call *cazare*, and various fruits. After the collation the king conducted the Admiral to the beautiful groves which surrounded his residence. There were upwards of a thousand natives in attendance, all perfectly naked. The king wore the shirt and gloves which the Admiral had given him, and he made more to do over the gloves than over anything he had received. He was remarkably nice and decorous in his mode of eating which shows his noble lineage. When he had finished he washed his hands and rubbed them with sweet and fragrant herbs, which the Admiral thought he did to preserve their delicacy and softness. He was served with great deference by his subjects, and conducted himself towards them with a gracious and prince-like majesty. The king ordered his people to perform several national games and dances in order to drive away the melancholy of his guest.

When the Indians had finished their games the Admiral sent on board the caravel for a Moorish bow and quiver of arrows, and ordered one of his crew who was skilled in its use, to shoot for the admiration of the natives. When the Cacique saw the accuracy with which this man used the weapon, he was greatly surprised, being himself ignorant of the use of arms. He told the Admiral that the people of *Caniba* whom they called *Caribes*, who often visited their territory and carried off his subjects, were also armed with bows and arrows, but without iron; that in all these islands neither iron nor steel were known; only gold and copper, and the Admiral had seen very little of the latter. The Admiral assured the Cacique, by signs, that the Sovereigns

⁸⁵ Columbus still insists upon confounding these two places.

of Castile would order the destruction of the *Caribes*, and that he would have them all brought bound hand and foot before him. In proof of his ability to do all this the Admiral ordered a lombard (or heavy cannon) and an arquebuse to be discharged. At the sound of the report the Indians fell to the ground, and when they saw the effect of the ball, rending and shivering the trees like a stroke of lightening they were filled with dismay. Being told that the Christians would defend them with these weapons against the *Caribes* their alarm was changed into great joy.

The Cacique now presented the Admiral with a mask of carved wood, with the eyes, ears and other parts of gold; he hung plates of the same metal around his neck and placed a kind of golden coronet upon his head. He distributed presents also among the followers of the Admiral.

The extreme kindness of the Cacique, the gentleness of his people, the quantities of gold which were daily brought to be exchanged for the veriest trifles and the information continually received of sources of wealth in the interior of this island, all contributed to console the Admiral in his misfortune. He recognized that Providence had not dealt hard with him in his shipwreck. "Out of this," he says, "so many things have happened that the stranding of the vessel has been a blessing, indeed. Because it is certain, that if I had not stranded and I had gone on without stopping at this place, I should not have been able to leave any people here nor could I have provided for them nor could I have found the means for their sustenance nor the materials for the building of a fortress, and it is true that many of my people have besought me directly and indirectly to permit them to remain here. I have now resolved to build a tower and fortress, all well arranged, and a large cave; not because there is any necessity for it, because, as I have said, with the people I have with me I could subjugate the whole island, which I believe to be larger than the whole of Portugal, and with twice as many people, but they are naked, and without arms and destitute of all resources. But, it is right to build this tower, and to have it as it ought to be,

seeing it is so far away from Your Highnesses, and that they may realize the genius of Your Highness' people, and what they are able to accomplish to the end that they may yield obedience to you through fear as well as love. Thus, they will have boards with which to build the fort (from the wreck) and provisions in food and wine for more than a year; and seed to plant, and the long boat from the ship and a calker, a carpenter, a gunner, a cooper, and a number of men who are very anxious to serve Your Highnesses, and please me at the same time, in exploring the island and discovering the island where gold is to be found. Thus, it is that things have turned out very fortunately to bring about that I should make a beginning. Especially does this appear so when we consider that when the vessel struck she did it so gently as to be hardly perceptible, and there was neither high sea nor wind." All this says the Admiral. And he adds, more to show that it was a piece of good fortune, and the determined will of God that the ship should be wrecked there, that some of his people might remain, for as he states, had it not been for the treacherous conduct of the master and crew (who were most all of them his countrymen) in not carrying the anchor astern to haul off the ship, as they were ordered, she would have been saved and thus no knowledge of the country would have been obtained during the stay by the men he intended to leave there, because the Admiral was always bent on making discoveries, and not on staying in any place longer than a day, unless compelled to do so by the wind, as his ship, as he says, was very heavy and not adapted for making discoveries. The fault of this lies with the people of Palos, in having failed in their agreement to furnish the King and Queen, as they had promised with suitable vessels for the expedition. The Admiral concluded by saying that every fragment of the ship was saved, there being lost not as much as a strip of leather or a nail, she being as complete as when she first set out except what was caused by cutting her to get at the casks and merchandise, all of which were well secured and carried on shore, as already stated. The Admiral says that he trusts in God,

that on his return from Castile, he will find a ton of gold collected by them in trading with the natives, and that his people will have succeeded in discovering the mine and the spices, and all these in such abundance that before three years the King and Queen may be able to undertake the moving of the Holy Sepulchre. *"For, I have before protested to Your Highnesses that the profits of this enterprise shall be employed in the conquest of Jerusalem, at which Your Highnesses smiled and said that you had the same desire without this."* These are the words of the Admiral.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27th.

At sunrise the king of that country came on board the caravel and told the Admiral that he had sent for gold, and that he was anxious to cover him all over with it before he left or rather he besought him not to go away at all. The king and his brother partook of a collation with the Admiral in a very private manner, and told him that they wished to go to Castile with him. At this juncture, news came to them that the caravel Pinta was in a river at the end of the island. The Cacique sent a canoe to the place and the Admiral ordered one of his men to go in it. The Cacique displayed an attachment for the Admiral which was really wonderful. The Admiral now exerted the utmost diligence in preparing for his return to Castile.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28th.

To give some directions and hasten the construction of the fort, and see the men who were to man it, the Admiral went ashore. It appears that the king caught sight of him as he was embarking, for, he hastened to enter his house and sent one of his brothers to the beach to receive him. The Admiral was conducted to one of the houses given to the strangers, and which was the largest and the best in the place. Here there was prepared a seat made of the inner bark of the palm tree, upon which they invited the Admiral to sit. The king's brother then sent an attendant to inform the Cacique that the Admiral was there, as if he were ignorant of it. The Admiral understood that this was done to show

him all the more honor. When the attendant had delivered his message the Cacique came running to the Admiral and placed about his neck a large plate of gold which he brought with him. The Admiral remained with him until evening considering what was to be done.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29th.

At sunrise there came on board the caravel a nephew of the Cacique, quite a youth, but a person of good understanding and courage (as the Admiral expressed it), and as he was always anxious to ascertain where he could find gold, he used to question every one about it by signs, as they could now converse in that manner. The young man informed him that at a four days' journey to the E, was an island called *Guariones*, and others called *Macoris*, *Mayonic*, *Fuma*, *Cibao*, and *Coroay*,⁸⁶ on which there was no end of gold. The Admiral wrote down the names of these places, and it came to the knowledge of the king that this youth had given this information and he reproved him for it; so, at least, the Admiral understood. He had at other times understood that the Cacique was anxious to prevent him from ascertaining where the gold was to be had, lest he should go to seek it or obtain it from other parties. But, there is so much of it, and in so many places on the island, says the Admiral, that it is really marvelous. In the evening the Cacique sent him a large golden mask, and asked for a wash basin and ewer. The Admiral supposing that he wanted these so as to have others made like them, sent them to him.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30th.

The Admiral went to dine on shore and found that there had arrived five kings, subjects to this one who was known as *Guacanagari*. All these wore their crowns and moved in great state, and the Admiral tells his sovereigns that their Highnesses would have been highly delighted to observe their manners. As soon as the Admiral landed *Guacanagari* came forward to receive him and leading him by

⁸⁶ These were not islands but provinces in the island of *Hispaniola*.—Las Casas.

the arm, conducted him to the house in which he had been entertained the day before; here was an elevated space and seats, upon which the Admiral was made to sit. The Cacique took off his crown and placed it upon the head of the Admiral, who, in turn, took from his neck a splendid collar made of very beautiful beads, and put it around that of the Cacique, and also divested himself of a mantle of fine scarlet cloth, which he had donned for the occasion and placed it upon the shoulders of the Cacique. He then sent for a pair of red buskins, which he placed upon the Caciques feet, and a large silver ring which he placed upon his finger, having heard that the natives had seen a silver ring on the hand of one of the sailors and had made every effort to obtain it. The Cacique was greatly pleased with these gifts, and two of the other Caciques came to the Admiral, and each gave him a plate of gold. While they were here an Indian arrived saying that two days before he had left the caravel Pinta in a harbor to the E. The Admiral returned to the caravel and Vicente Anos,⁸⁷ the captain told him that he had seen rhubarb and that it grew upon the island of *Ami-gu* at the entrance of the harbor, which was called *Mar de Santo Tome*, six leagues from there, and that he had recognized both root and branches. It is said that the rhubarb sends forth flowers and berries which resemble green mulberries half dried, and that the stalk near the root is of a fine yellow color, the best that can be used for painting, and the root is like a large pear.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 31st.

This day was spent in taking on board water and wood for their homeward voyage, that he might give speedy news to his Sovereigns so that ships might be sent out to discover what was yet to be found, as there was much yet to be done in that direction. He was anxious, before his departure, however, to explore all this coast to the E, to learn the most direct route to it from Castile for the transit of cattle and other things. But, as he had now only one vessel he did not

87 It should be *Vicente Yanez*.

think it prudent to expose himself to the dangers these discoveries might entail. He complains that all his present troubles are due to his abandonment by the *Pinta*.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1st, 1493.

At midnight a boat was sent to the island of Amiga in search of rhubarb. They returned in the evening with a frail of it, not having been able to procure more of it because they had taken no spades, with which to dig it up. What was obtained was carried home as samples to the Sovereigns. The canoe which had been sent out in search of the *Pinta* returned without any news of her. The sailor who went out in her reported that at twenty leagues distant he met a Cacique who wore upon his head two great plates of gold, but, as soon as the Indians who accompanied him in the canoe spoke to him, he took them off. He also saw much gold on many other natives. The Admiral believed that *Guacanegari* had prohibited all the others from selling gold to the Christians, so that it might all pass through his hands. But, he had known places, as already stated, where it was so abundant as to be valueless.

The spices, as the Admiral says, are also abundant, and more valuable than pepper or grains of paradise. He left orders with those that remained to collect as much as possible of it.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2d.

The Admiral went ashore in the morning to take leave of Guacanagari, and to depart in the name of the Lord. He gave him one of his own shirts. He also gave him an experiment of the power of the lombardas. For this purpose one of them was ordered to be mounted and fired against the side of the ship which was ashore. He was anxious to make him at ease concerning the *Caribes* who made war upon his people, and to show him the extent of his protection. The shot passed through the ship and struck the sea at a distance. He also gave him an idea of a skirmish between parties of his crew, armed for the purpose, telling the Cacique that he need not fear the *Caribes* even if they should come upon them.

All this was done, says the Admiral to strike terror into the inhabitants and to make them friendly to the Christians who were to be left behind. He took the king and his attendants with him to the house which had been assigned to him to dine. At parting he gave strict orders to Diego de Arana, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo Escovedo, whom he made his lieutenants over the people he left after him, that everything should be well grounded and regulated for the service of God and their Highnesses. The Cacique manifested great affection for the Admiral, and the deepest sorrow at separating from him, especially when he saw him about to embark. One of the natives told the Admiral that he had ordered his statue to be made of pure gold as large as life, and that inside of ten days it would be brought here. The Admiral went on board with the intention of setting sail but was prevented from doing so by adverse wind.

He left on that island of *Hispaniola* which the Indians call *Bohio*, a fort and thirty-nine men, whom he describes as very great friends of *Guacanagari*, and over these he placed as lieutenant Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova; Pedro Gutierrez, groom of the King's wardrobe, and Rodrigo de Escovedo, a native of Seville, and nephew of Fray Rodrigo Perez, with all the powers the Sovereigns had delegated to him. He left them all the goods which had been sent for trading, being a great amount that they might trade for gold and everything belonging to the ship. He gave them also biscuit and wine for a year; and the ship's launch, so that they (being sailors for the most part) might, at convenient opportunities, undertake the discovery of the gold mine; so that on the Admiral's return he might find much gold and a proper place for founding a city, as this port did not suit him; and especially, because the gold brought here, came from the east, and the further east they were the nearer they were to Spain. He also left them seed for sowing, and his officers, a notary and alguazil, and among others a good ship's carpenter and calker, a good gunner well up in engineering, a cooper, a surgeon and a tailor, all of whom he says were good seamen.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3d,

The Admiral did not sail to-day because the Indians belonging to the ship remained on shore. At night three of them arrived, and reported that the others with their wives were also coming. The sea was also somewhat agitated, not allowing the boat to lie at the shore. The Admiral determined to sail, by the grace of God, the next morning. He said that if he had had the caravel *Pinta* with him, he should have been sure of obtaining a ton of gold, for, in that case he would have ventured to cruise among these islands, but being alone, he dared not do so lest some mishap should prevent his returning to Castile and informing the King and Queen of the discoveries he had made. Even had he been certain that the *Pinta* would arrive safe thither, with Martin Alonzo Pinzon, he would not have gratified his desire of exploring these parts any further, as he feared Pinzon might give a false account to the King and Queen, so as to escape the punishment which he deserved for his misconduct in abandoning the Admiral without leave, and thus hamper the benefits consequent upon the discovery. He trusted that our Lord would grant him a favorable passage and enable him to remedy all evils which had been done.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 4th.

At sunrise they weighed anchor and stood out of the harbor with a light wind; they steered to the N W, passing the shoal by a channel much narrower than that by which they had entered. These are very good entrances to sail in to *Villa de Navidad*,⁸⁸ and contain from three to nine fathoms of water, extending from N W, to S E. Here are shoals which reach from *Cabo Santo* to *Cabo de Sierte*, over six leagues and extend three leagues into the sea. A league from *Cabo Santo* there are no more than eight fathoms of water, and within this cape towards the east, are many shoals with navigable channels. All this coast runs N W, and S E, and has a beach along its whole length; the land is very level for

⁸⁸ He called the fort and settlement here *Villa de Navidad*, because he arrived here on Christmas day.

a distance of four leagues from the shore, when it becomes diversified with lofty mountains, the whole very populous and abounding with large towns. The ship continued along the coast to the E, in the direction of a very tall mountain, finely shaped like a tent, and which appears to be an island, but was found to be united to a low tract of country. This the Admiral named *Monte Cristi*, it is situated exactly E, of *Cabo Santo* at a distance of eighteen leagues (ten leagues) the ship was unable to get within six leagues of it to-day because of light wind.

They found four sandy islets (*Los Siete Hermanos*), with a reef extending to the N W, and S E. It is considered very shallow, and full of bars, and along the coast are many streams not navigable, although the sailor sent by the Admiral in the canoe, after the *Pinta*, reported that he saw a river which ships might enter. (Río Tapion.) They anchored here in nineteen fathoms of water and three leagues from *Monte Cristi*, where they remained all night, having kept off from land to avoid the numerous shoals hereabouts. The Admiral here gave directions for sailing to Villa de Navidad, but as the coast is now known it is not deemed necessary to reproduce them here.

He concludes that Cipango must be in this island, and that it contains great stores of gold, spices, mastic and rhubarb.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5th.

Just before sunrise set sail with a land breeze which later on shifted to the east. He saw to the S S E, from *Monte Cristi*, between it and the islet what appeared to be a good harbor in which to anchor for the night, and he stood S E and then S S E, six good leagues towards the mountain and he found after having gone this distance seventeen fathoms of clear water. Then it decreased to twelve fathoms up to the round of the mountain, and a league further on he found nine and all clear gravel bottom. Stood on his course until he entered between the mountain and the islet (Cabra or Goat Island) where he found three fathoms and a half of water at low tide, a very singular harbor, where he cast

anchor. He went in his boat to the islet where he found fires and traces that fishermen had been there. He saw here, many stones painted with colors or quarries of stones wrought by nature and very beautiful and, as he says, suitable for building churches or such buildings, as he had seen on the island of San Salvador. He also found on this island numerous mastie trees. This *Monte Cristi*, he says, is very beautiful, and high and easy to travel, and of attractive form.⁸⁹ All the land around it is low and picturesque; while the mountain is so high that seen from a distance it looks cut off from any other land. Beyond this mountain he saw a cape some twenty-four miles to the east which he named *Cabo del Becerro* (Punta Rucia), from which to the aforesaid mountain there extends through the water full two leagues of low reefs, although there seemed to be channels through them by which to enter, but this must be done in daylight and only after careful sounding with boats. From the said mountain eastward toward *Cabo Becerro* there are four leagues of beach and low land, but very pretty, and the rest is all high land, with lofty and beautiful mountains. Inland there is a range running from N E to S E, the most beautiful he had ever seen and which resembles his own mountain range of Cordoba. There are too, other lofty mountains in the distance, like unto those at Cristi in size and beauty. From here to the E and N E, the land is not so high and extends for about a hundred miles.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6th.

This harbor is protected from all winds except the N and N E, and the Admiral says that these are not frequent hereabouts; and even these can be avoided behind the islet; it has a depth of three and, in some places four fathoms of water. At sunrise the caravel got under weigh to follow the coast which ran almost entirely to the E. It was necessary to exercise the greatest vigilance because of the numerous rocks and sandbars. After noon a stiff easterly breeze sprung up, and the Admiral sent a sailor aloft to

⁸⁹ Las Casas says that this is true and that it looks like a sheaf of wheat.

watch out for bars. He soon discovered the caravel *Pinta* sweeping towards them before the wind. Seeing that all attempts to lay to were fruitless from the obstinacy of the adverse wind, and that there was no safe anchorage in the vicinity, the Admiral put back to a bay a little west of Monte Christi, whither he was followed by the *Pinta*. Pinzon came aboard the *Niña* where the Admiral was and began to make excuses for his desertion, alleging many reasons therefore but, the Admiral says they were all false, and that he had strayed away from him that night with much pride and envy, and the Admiral adds, that he does not know what could have given rise to that pride and dishonesty he had shown towards him during that voyage. The Admiral pretended to be satisfied with his excuses not wishing to "yield to the temptations of Satan, who sought to prevent the voyage, as he had done at the commencement. He was informed afterwards that Pinzon had been told by an Indian on board his vessel of a region to the eastward called Baneque abounding in gold, and as his caravel possessed superior sailing qualities, he decided to separate and go off by himself, leaving the Admiral. The latter wanted to delay and cruise around the islands of *Juana* and *Hispaniola*, as they both lay to the E. Martin Alonzo went to Baneque, but found no gold there, he then became entangled among a cluster of small islands, and was finally guided by an Indian to Hispaniola, where he was told there was much gold and gold mines. In this way he came near the town of Navidad, some fifteen leagues, some twenty days after his departure, from which it would appear that there was some truth in the report brought by the Indians whom Guacanagari had sent out with a canoe, and by the sailor sent out by the Admiral. The *Pinta* must have left the place before the canoe arrived. The Admiral says that Pinzon collected quite a quantity of gold, as for a strip of leather the natives gave them pieces as large as their two fingers and sometimes as large as a hand. Martin Alonzo retained one half of all this for himself, and divided the rest among his men to secure their fidelity and

secrecy. The Admiral here remarks to his Sovereigns; "I am thus convinced, Your Majesties, that Providence ordained that my vessel should remain there because it is the best place on all the islands to establish a settlement and the most convenient to the gold mines." He also says that he learned that there is beyond the island of *Juana* to the south, another large island,⁹⁰ on which there is much more gold than on this one, to such an extent, that they picked up the largest pieces there; while at Hispaniola the pieces of gold found in the mines were like grains of wheat. He says that island is called *Yamaye*. The Admiral also learned that there was another island to the east inhabited solely by women, and that this was known to many persons; and that the island of *Hispaniola* and the other island of *Yamaye* were near terra firma, ten days' journey by canoe, that the distance might be from sixty to seventy leagues, and that it was inhabited by a people who wore clothes.

MONDAY, JANUARY 7th.

This day was spent in pumping out water made by the caravel and in calking her. Some of the crew went ashore for wood and they came across large quantities of mastic and aloes.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8th.

An adverse easterly and southeasterly wind prevented the Admiral from setting sail to-day. He, therefore, ordered the caravel to be supplied with wood and water and with everything necessary for the voyage. Although he would much have preferred to have explored the coast of Hispaniola as far as possible, still having placed the caravels in command of captains who were brothers, such as Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vicente Anes, who with their adherents were actuated by pride and envy, and looked upon everything now, as their own, (Columbus' ship being lost) who, notwithstanding all the honor that had been done them, continued as they had been doing, to disobey his orders; and who had said many things they should not have said against him; and considering that Mar-

90 Jamaica.

tin Alonzo had deserted him from November twenty-first until January sixth, without cause or reason, and solely through disobedience; all of which the Admiral had borne in silence so as not to aggravate the difficulties of his voyage, and to get rid of such bad company, he says he was obliged to conceal his real feelings before these untoward people notwithstanding the fact that he had some honest people with him, it was no time to engage in punishment; he resolved to return to Spain, with all speed possible. He ordered the boats manned, therefore, and despatched them to a large river one league to the S S E, of Monte Cristi, where the sailors went to procure a supply of wood and water for the voyage. Many particles of gold were noticed among the sands at its mouth, and some were even found adhering to the hoops of the casks.⁹¹ The Admiral gave this river the name of *Rio de Oro*, or Golden River (now called *Rio Santiago*.) In this vicinity are three other rivers, which he thought must have much more gold than this one, because they are larger, seeing it is almost as large as the Guadalquivir at Cordova. They are less than twenty leagues⁹² distant from the gold mines. The Admiral says that he did not wish to take any of this sand so full of gold, as their Highnesses had it at their very doors at the town of Navidad; but would hasten at once to give them an account of his expedition, and get rid of the unreliable people by whom he was surrounded, and who were also untractable.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9th.

At midnight they set sail with a southeasterly wind, and steered to the E N E, in the evening they arrived and anchored under the shelter of a cape sixty miles⁹³ east of *Monte Christi*, this he named *Punta Rosa*.⁹⁴ Here were extensive shoals, on which account they did not leave that place through the night. The land from *Monte Christi* to the place where

⁹¹ These were evidently particles of marcasite, which abounds in this river

⁹² Las Casas thinks it is less than four leagues.

⁹³ Forty-two miles according to other accounts.

⁹⁴ Punta Isabelica.

they anchored, was high but level, with beautiful fields, at a distance back appeared a chain of fine mountains running from E to W, covered with cultivation and presenting a most enchanting view; streams of water were also in abundance.

All along the coast there are great multitudes of turtle, of which the sailors took some at *Monte Christi*, as they came on shore to lay their eggs. They were as big as a buckler of the largest size. The Admiral relates, that when on his visit to the *Rio de Oro* yesterday, he saw three mermaids standing high out of the water, they had faces something similar to those of human beings, but were not so handsome as it was customary to represent them: he adds that he has formerly seen them in Guinea, upon the Pepper coast. This night, he says, he intends to set sail in the name of our Lord, without suffering himself to be detained here longer by anything; having accomplished the main object of his enterprise; and as he is anxious to free himself from the trouble which Martin Alonzo causes him, and inform the King and Queen of his voyage and performances, 'after which' says he 'I shall no more suffer the practices of worthless and malignant persons who behave with such disobedience and want of respect to one who has shown them so distinguished favors.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10th.

They set sail from their anchorage, and at sunset came to a river,⁹⁵ which the Admiral named *Rio de Gracia*, its distance was three leagues to the S E. They anchored at the mouth, finding a convenient spot on the eastern side. There is a bank at the entrance, having but two fathoms of water, and the channel very narrow. Within is a harbour well inclosed, but abounding in worms, from which the caravel *Pinta* had suffered severely, she having been, while absent from the Admiral, sixteen days here, trading for gold, the thing Martin Alonzo was in quest of. It was ascertained that this man having learnt from the Indians that the Admiral was upon the coast, and he could not miss him, he resolved to return to his company, having endeavored to procure all

95 Rio Chuzona Chico.

his crew to swear that they had been there but six days, but his villainy, says the Admiral was so apparent, that it could not be concealed. He had made regulations that the half of all the gold discovered, or obtained by barter, should be his property; and at leaving this place took six of the Indians, four men and two girls, on board his vessels by force; these the Admiral ordered to be clothed, and sent to their homes, which, he says, is for the service of Your Highnesses for they are all Your Highnesses subjects, especially those of this island, where the people should receive all favor and respect from us, as the place contains so many fine countries with gold and spicery, and the settlement which has been made.'

FRIDAY, JANUARY 11th.

At midnight they sailed from Rio de Gracia, with a land breeze, proceeding four leagues to the E toward a cape which the Admiral named *Belprado*. S E, from this, at a distance, according to his account, of eight leagues, is a mountain which he called *Monte de Plata*.⁹⁶ E by S eighteen leagues distant, is a cape which he named *Cabo del Angel*. Between this and Monte de Plata is a gulf,⁹⁷ bordered by a most charming country, consisting of lofty and beautiful fields extending far into the land. At a distance back is a chain of mountains running from E to W, very tall and presenting a beautiful view. At the foot of the mountain above mentioned is an excellent harbour⁹⁸ having fourteen fathoms depth at the mouth. This mountain is lofty and handsome, covered with settlements, and in the Admiral's opinion contains fine streams of water and much gold.

Four leagues E, by S, of *Cabo del Angel* is a point which he called *Punta del Hierro*.⁹⁹

Four leagues farther on is another, named by him, *Punta Seca*.¹⁰⁰ Another called *Cabo Redondo*¹⁰¹ six leagues beyond that. East from this last, is another which he named *Cabo*

96 *Silver Mountain*. It is very lofty, and always covered with a white cloud, which gives it a silvery appearance.

97 Port of Saint Jago

98 Port Plate.

99 Punta Macuris. 100 Punta Sesna. 101 Cabo de la Roca.

Frances, beyond which is a bay¹⁰² but which did not appear a good anchoring place.

A league from the bay is a cape called *Cabo del Buen Tiempo*, and another league S, by E, from this, a cape which he named *Tajado*. To the south another was seen, apparently fifteen leagues distant. They made a great progress this day, as both the wind and the currents were favorable. Not daring to anchor for fear of the shoals, they lay to all night.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12th.

At daybreak they stood to the east with a fresh breeze and sailed by sunrise twenty miles, the following two hours, twenty-four miles, when they discovered land in the south¹⁰³ forty-eight miles distant. They found they had gone in the night, twenty-eight miles to the N N E. Standing for the land they discovered a cape which was named *Cabo de Padre é Hijo*,¹⁰⁴ as it has toward the east two cliffs of unequal size. Two leagues to the east, an opening was descried between two large mountains, which proved to be a fine large harbour with a good entrance.

Being so early, they did not enter, not wishing to lose time, as the wind then blew from the N N W, although for the most part they had found it to blow from the E.

Continuing their course E, they came to a cape which the Admiral called *Cabo del Enamorado*¹⁰⁵ (the lover's cape) it was of craggy rock and very high, at a distance of thirty-two miles E, of the harbour above mentioned named by him *Puerto Sacro*. From this place they discovered another promontory,¹⁰⁶ loftier and handsomer than the last, of a round shape and all of rock, like Cape Saint Vincent in Portugal; it was twelve miles E, of Cabo Enamorado. Arrived off this last, they discovered between these two headlands a very large bay¹⁰⁷ of three leagues in breadth, with a little isle in the middle. They found the water deep in the mouth near the shore, where they anchored in twelve fathoms, and

102 Bahia Escocesa.

104 Cape of the Father and Son

106 Cabo Samana.

103 The peninsula of Samana.

105 Cabo Cabron.

107 Baye de Samana.

sent the boat for water, and to converse with the inhabitants but they all fled. The Admiral stopped here wishing to ascertain if this land was part of *Espanola*. He was astonished at the great size of the island.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 13th.

They did not sail as no land breeze blew.

The Admiral wished to go in search of a better harbour, as this was somewhat unsheltered, and he was desirous of witnessing the conjunction of the sun, moon, and Mercury in opposition to Jupiter, which occasions high winds. The boat was sent on shore to procure *ajes* for provision; they landed upon a beach in the neighbourhood, and found several Indians with bows and arrows; they entered into conversation with them, purchased their arms, and persuaded one of their number to accompany them on board the caravel, to visit the Admiral.

This man was of a more displeasing appearance than any that had yet been seen; his face was smutted all over with charcoal, though in all parts they are accustomed to paint themselves with a variety of colours. His hair was long, gathered and tied behind, and adorned with parrot's feathers. He was totally naked. The Admiral took him for one of the *Caribes* who were man eaters, and believed that the gulf seen yesterday was a separation between *Espanola* and another island. He asked him for the *Caribes* and he answered by signs that their land was to the east in the neighbourhood: the Admiral says he saw it the day previous, before entering the bay.

The Indians informed him that much gold existed there, and in masses as big as the stern of the caravel. He called the metal *tuob* not understanding it by *caona*, as it was called in the other parts of the island, nor by *nozay*, which was the name of it in *San Salvador*, and the other islands.

Copper or base gold was called in *Espanola* *tuob*. The Indian also spoke of the island of *Matinino*, which according to his account, was peopled by women without a single man, and contained much *tuob*; he described it as situated east of

Carib. Another island containing gold he called *Gouanin*.¹⁰⁸ The Admiral says he had been informed of these islands some time before and by several persons. In all the islands they had visited, he declares that the inhabitants entertained great fear of *Carib*, which in some parts are called *Caniba*, but in Española *Carib*. He thinks them to be a warlike nation, as they make incursions upon the other islands and devour the prisoners whom they take. He says he understood some words, and from these he made out other things, and that the Indians he brought with him understood more but he found a difference in their language the further apart they were. He ordered food to be given to the Indian, he also gave him a piece of red and green cloth and some glass beads, which they are very fond of, and sent him ashore, telling him to bring gold if he could find any, which he judged he might have from some little things he wore. When the boat reached the shore there were some fifty-five naked men concealed behind the trees. They wore long hair, like the woman of Castile. The backs of their heads were ornamented with feathers of parrots and other birds, and each man carried a bow. The Indian landed and induced the others to leave their bows and arrows, and a piece of stick which is like a ¹⁰⁹ very heavy and which they carry after the manner of a sword. They came towards the boat, and those in the boat landed, and began to barter for their bows and arrows and other arms, as the Admiral had commanded them to do. They were only willing to part with two bows. They then suddenly ran to the place where they had concealed their arms, snatched them up and returned with ropes as if to bind and capture the Christians. Seeing them running towards them, and being prepared for them, for the Admiral had always cautioned them to be on the lookout, the Spaniards rushed upon them and wounded one Indian in the leg and another in the breast. The Indians seeing they had little to hope for, although there

¹⁰⁸ *Gouanin*, according to Las Casas, was the name given by the Indians to a sort of inferior gold, which emitted an odor, and was highly prized by them. *Carib* was the Indian name for the island of Porto Rico.

¹⁰⁹ This blank occurs in the original.

were only seven Spaniards against over fifty of themselves, took to flight, leaving their weapons after them. The Spaniards would have killed some of them had they not been deterred from doing so by the pilot who acted as their Captain. The Spaniards now returned to the caravel, and when the Admiral learned what had happened, he said that while on the one hand he was sorry, on the other he was not, as they would now be afraid of the white people, and because they were, doubtless, bad people, and he was sure they were *Caribs* and that they ate human beings. He also thought that if the boat he had left to the thirty-nine men at Fort Natividad should happen to come this way the Indians would be afraid to harm them. If they were not Caribs, they were, at least, frontier Indians, having the same manners and customs; a people without fear, and not like the others on the neighbouring islands who are timid and ignorant of the use of arms. All this, says the Admiral, and further, that he was anxious to secure some of them. He says they made many signals with smoke as was the custom among the people of Hispaniola.

MONDAY, JANUARY 14th.

The Admiral wishing to make prisoners of some of the Indians, intended to dispatch the boat to land in the night to visit their houses for this purpose, but the wind blowing strong from the E and N E, occasioned a rough sea which prevented it. When the day came, a great many of the natives were seen on shore, and the Admiral sent the boat well armed to land. The Indians all came crowding around her and among them the one who had visited the caravel and received the presents the day before. With these also came a king of the country, who had dispatched this Indian with some beads to give the boat's crew in token of security and peace. The king with three of his men, entered the boat and went on board the caravel. The Admiral treated them with biscuit and honey, and gave the king a red cap, some beads, and red cloth; to the others he presented pieces of cloth, and dismissed them all highly pleased to land, the king informing him that he would bring him the

next day a golden mask, and that there was much of the metal at this place as well as in *Carib* and *Martinino*. The Admiral here states that the caravels were very leaky about the keels, and complains much of the calkers at Palos, who did their work very badly, and when this had been discovered by him, and he endeavored to make them mend it, had absconded. But he says in spite of the bad state of his vessels he confides in our Lord, that as he has brought him to these parts, so he will in his great mercy return him; for his Heavenly Majesty knew what struggles it had cost him to set on foot this enterprise, and that he alone had favored him before the King and Queen, all others in the most unreasonable manner opposing him.

He adds, 'these last have been the cause that the Royal crown of Your Highnesses does not possess at this day an hundred millions of revenue more than when I entered your service, from which time it will be seven years the twentieth day of this month of January, without mentioning the increase to arrive hereafter. But Almighty God will remedy all.'

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15th.

The Admiral wished to sail as his stay could no longer be of any profit, on account of the rupture with the Indians. He says he has discovered that most of the gold is in the neighbourhood of *Villa de la Navidad*, and that in the island of *Carib*, there is much copper, as also in *Martinino*. To explore the first, he thinks will be difficult, on account of the ferocity of the inhabitants, and the last is stated to be peopled solely by women. The island of *Carib* was seen from this place, and he determined, as they both lay in his route, to visit them and capture some of the natives. He sent the boat to land, where they found that the king had not arrived, his town being at a distance; he however, sent his crown which was of gold, as he had promised the day before, and many of his men came bringing cotton, bread and *ajjes*, all armed with bows and arrows. The traffic between them being finished there came four young Indians on board the caravel, where they gave so good an account

to the Admiral, of the island to the east, which lay in his course homeward, that he determined to take them along with him. Here he relates that he had discovered no iron nor any other metal but those already mentioned, in these quarters, although he acknowledges it impossible to learn much of the country while they were ignorant of the language, and were several days in making the people understand a single thing. The bows here, he describes as equal in size to those of France and England, and the arrows just like the javelins used by the inhabitants of the other isles, which are made of stalks of the cane while in seed; they are very straight, about a yard and a half in length, and doubled with a sharp piece of wood a span and a half long at the end; at the point of this some affix a fish's tooth, but the most of them grass. These arrows are shot in a manner which prevent their doing much harm. A great deal of cotton was found at this place very fine and long. Mastic trees were in abundance, and the bows of the Indians appeared to be made of yew. The land was found to produce much *aje*, which is the pepper of the inhabitants, and more valuable than the common sort; they deem it very wholesome and eat nothing without it. Fifty caravels might be loaded every year with this commodity at Espanola. The Admiral states that he found in this bay a great deal of that sort of weed which they met at sea upon their passage; on which account he imagined there were islands extending to the east as far as the place where they first perceived it, as he held it for certain that this weed grew in shoal water near the land. He adds if the above be correct, these Indies must be very near the Canary Isles, in his opinion less than four hundred leagues distant.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16th.

Three hours before day they set sail from this gulf, which the Admiral named *Golfo de las Flechas*,¹¹⁰ (the Gulf of Arrows.)

They had at first a land breeze, which afterwards shifted to the west, when they steered east by north, for the island

110 Baye de Samana.

of *Curib* which contained the people of whom all the other Indians stood in terror, as they were accustomed to scour all those seas with innumerable fleets of canoes, and devour their prisoners. One of the Indians whom they had taken at the place last quitted, directed them upon the route. After sailing, as they judged sixty-four miles, the Indian signified to them that the island was to the S E,¹¹¹ when they altered their course and proceeded in that direction and having sailed a couple of leagues, the wind freshened and blew very favorably for their return to Spain.

The crew began to despond at leaving their course homeward, on account of the leaky state of the vessels, there being no remedy for it but the help of God, and the Admiral found himself constrained to change his course anew, and steer directly for Spain. He accordingly shaped his route N E by E, and sailed by sunset forty-eight miles or twelve leagues. The Indians informed him that in this direction he would meet with the island of *Martinino*, which was inhabited by women; the Admiral was very desirous to visit the place and carry five or six of the inhabitants to Spain, but doubted whether the Indians knew the course thither. Besides he was unwilling to be detained any longer with his leaky vessels.

He says, however, that the fact respecting this island is certain, and that the inhabitants are visited at particular times of the year, by men from the isle of *Curib* which is about ten or a dozen leagues distant, and the male children which are born, they send to that place, but keep the females themselves. The Admiral believed these islands to be at the S E, and not more than fifteen or twenty leagues from the place whence they had sailed, but he thought the Indians were unable to point out the way. Losing sight of a cape in Espanola, which he named *San Theramo*,¹¹² and which bore west, sixteen leagues distant, they sailed twelve leagues leagues E, by N. The weather was very fine.

111 Porto Rico.

112 Cape Samana.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17th.

At sunset yesterday, the wind abated a little, and they sailed for fourteen glasses, each of half an hour or a trifle less, till the first watch, going four miles an hour, which made twenty-eight miles.

The wind then freshened and they sailed under it the whole watch, which was ten glasses, and afterwards six more till sunrise, at eight miles an hour, making in all eighty-four miles or twenty-one leagues N E by E. By sunset they sailed forty-four miles or eleven leagues further, in an easterly direction.

Here a pelican came on board the caravel, and afterwards another. They saw much seaweed.¹¹³

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18th.

Kept on their course at night E by S, and sailed forty miles or ten leagues.

Afterwards steered S E, by E, till sunrise thirty miles, which are seven leagues and a half. After sunrise sailed all day with light winds, from N E, and E, steering N, and N E, going on the whole sixty miles or fifteen leagues. But little seaweed was seen, and the Admiral says that yesterday and to-day the ocean was covered with tunnies, which as he thinks were accustomed to direct their course from these parts, to the fisheries where the Spaniards take them. A bird called a *rabihorcado*, which flew about the caravel, and then went off to the S E, caused the Admiral to think there were islands in that quarter.¹¹⁴

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19th.

In the night they sailed fifty-six miles N by E, and sixty-four N E by N. After sunrise the wind blew fresh from E S E, and they stood N E, and afterwards N E, by N, going eighty-four miles, or twenty-one leagues.

The sea was covered with tunnies of a small size, and they saw pelicans, tropic birds, and *rabihorcados*.

113 There is a shoal in this neighbourhood, which they passed four leagues to the south.

114 The Antilles or Windward Islands lay in this direction.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20th.

The wind died away at night, and afterwards blew in squalls; they sailed twenty miles to the S E, After sunrise eleven miles to the S E, and then thirty-six miles or nine leagues to the N N E. A vast number of small tunnies were seen; the air was fresh and soft as at Seville in April or May, and the sea 'many thanks to God' says the Admiral, always smooth.

Rabihorcados, pardelas, and many other birds appeared.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21st.

Yesterday after sunset steered N quarter N E with the wind E N E. Sailed about eight miles an hour, which would make fifty-six miles. After that stood N N E, eighty miles an hour, and thus made during the whole night fifty-four miles which are equal to twenty-six leagues. After sunrise steered N N E, with the same wind to the east and sometimes a quarter to N E, and made eighty-eight miles in the eleven hours of the day, which make twenty-one leagues, deducting one which was lost in laying to near the caravel Pinta to hold converse with those on board. The air became cooler and we expected them to grow more so daily, the further north we went. Saw many bunches of weeds, sand pipers and other birds; but not so many fish, and the Admiral thinks this was due to the water being colder. Saw much grass.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22d.

Yesterday after sunset sailed N N E, under an east wind that veered to S E. Made eight miles an hour, according to the sand glass, and kept it up for seventy-two miles, which are eighteen leagues. After this veered a quarter N E by N, and made eighteen miles more. Continued at this rate until sunrise; when there was a calm. The Indians plunged into the sea and swam about the ships. Saw many bunches of weeds and much sea grass.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23d.

The wind was very changeable through the night, and with soundings and all precautions taken by mariners, the

vessels stood N E one quarter N, and made eighty-four miles or twenty-one leagues. Many delays occurred waiting for the Pinta, the foremast of which was in such a bad condition that it could carry but little sail; and the Admiral remarked that if her captain, who was Martin Alonzo Pinzon, had taken as much care to provide himself with a good mast in the Indies, where the opportunities for doing so were so frequent, as he did to fill the ship with gold, he would have been more secure. Many rushes and much grass were seen. The sky was very much disturbed these days, but there had been no rain and the sea continued as calm as a river, thanks be to God.

After sunrise sailed due north nearly twenty miles or seven leagues and a half and then shifted to E N E, and made thirty miles more.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24th.

Sailed to-night, considering the frequent shiftings of the wind to N E, some forty-four miles. From sunrise to sunset, steered E N E, fourteen leagues.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25th.

Sailed last night to E N E, a good part of the night and made nine leagues and a half; then to N N E, and made six miles more. After sunrise, owing to a calm, went only twenty-eight miles further to E N E. The sailors killed a tunny fish and a large shark, and he says, they needed them badly, as their sea stock was reduced to bread and wine and agi peppers, which last they had learned from the Indians to use as an important article of food.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26th.

Sailed E S E, fifty-six miles. After sunrise sailed part of the time E S E, and S E, and up to eleven o'clock in the morning made forty miles. Then took another tack and sailed with bowlines hauled, and kept on until night to the N, making twenty-four miles.

SUNDAY, JANUARY, 27th.

From this date until the end of the month, Thursday, January 31st, the caravels kept on their course, making their usual speed, and encountering the mildest and most delightful weather, as pleasant as April in Castile. Weeds, sea grass, and aquatic birds were seen at given intervals, and some fishes, like gold fish came on board. Tunny fish were quite numerous, and gray sand pipers were seen from time to time.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1st.

Sailed all night E N E, sixteen and a half leagues. Through the day ran on the same course twenty-nine leagues and a quarter. The sea was smooth, thanks be to God.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2d.

Sailed through the night forty miles, which make ten leagues. Through the day with the wind astern, made seven miles an hour, so that in eleven hours we made seventy-seven miles, which make nineteen and a quarter leagues. The sea was smooth, thanks be to God, and the air very balmy. Saw a large field of sea grass, which if we had not recognized we should have taken for shoals. Birds were also seen.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3d.

Through the night sailing with this wind astern and on a smooth sea, thanks be to God, we made twenty-nine leagues.

The north Star appeared to be very high in the heavens, as it is seen at Cape Saint Vincent. Could not take bearings with the astrolabe or quadrant because of the sea that was on. Through the day stood on course E N E and made ten miles an hour, and so in eleven hours made twenty-seven leagues.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4th.

Stood to-night E. one quarter N E, and part of the time made twelve miles an hour, and part ten miles, so that we made in all one hundred and thirty miles, which are twenty-two and a half leagues. The sky was dark and raining, and the weather was somewhat cold, by which the Admiral knew

that he had not arrived off the Azore islands. After sunrise changed course and stood to eastward. Made during the day seventy-seven miles, which are nineteen leagues and a quarter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5th.

Kept an eastward course all night, and made forty-four miles, which are fourteen leagues lacking a half. Through the day made ten miles an hour, and then in eleven hours made one hundred and ten miles, which are twenty-seven leagues and a half. Saw some sand pipers and some sticks which indicated that we were near land.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6th.

Kept an eastern course all night, at the rate of eleven miles an hour, and in thirteen hours of night made one hundred and forty-three miles, which are thirty-five leagues and a quarter. Saw many birds. Through the day ran fourteen miles an hour, and thus through that day we made one hundred and forty-four miles, which are thirty-eight and a half leagues; so that between day and night we made about seventy-four leagues. Vincente Anes (Yanez) said that this morning the Isle de Flores lay to the north of us and Madeira to the east. Roldan said that the island of Fayal or that of Saint Gregory lay to the N E and Puerto Santo to the E. Abundance of sea grass was seen.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7th.

Sailed all night to E, and made about ten miles an hour so that in thirteen hours we had made one hundred and thirty miles or thirty-two and a half leagues. Through the day ran eight miles an hour and in eleven hours we had made eighty-eight miles, or twenty-two leagues. This morning the Admiral was sixty-five leagues south of the Isle de Flores, and the pilot, Pedro Alonzo going north passed between Tercera and Santa Maria, and to the E, he left the weather shore of the island of Madeira twelve leagues to northwest.

The sailors noticed grass and weeds different from what

they had been seeing, and of a kind that abounds among the Azore islands. Later on they saw some of the old kind.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8th.

To-night made only three miles an hour to eastward, for a while, and then stood a quarter S E. Made during the night twelve leagues. From sunrise till noon ran twenty-seven miles, and as many more before sunset, which make in all thirteen leagues to the S E.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.

For a while during the night made three leagues to S E, and then S, a quarter S E; then stood to N E, up to ten o'clock in the morning five leagues more. From this until night ran nine leagues to E.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10th.

After sunset kept on to the E, all night, and made one hundred and thirty miles. From sunrise till sunset made nine miles an hour, and thus made in eleven hours ninety-nine miles.

On the Admiral's caravel, Vincente Yañes and the two pilots, Sancho Ruiz and Pedro Alonzo Niña and Roldan consulted their charts or made points upon them, and all of them were far to the eastward of the Azores by their charts and sailing to the north none of them took in the island of Santa Maria which is the most remote of all the Azores. At first they were five leagues in front and they were in the vicinity of the island of Madeira or off Punto Santo. But the Admiral was very much out of the way from their calculations, finding himself farther off than they were because on this night the island of Flores was north of him, and to the E, he was looking for Nafe in Africa, and he passed to the weather shore of the island of Madeira, to the north¹¹⁵ leagues. Thus, it appears that the pilots were much nearer Castile than the Admiral by one hundred and fifty leagues. He says that through the

115 Here something is left out in the original. The whole text here seems very obscure.

mercy of God, when they see land they will find out which was correct. He also says here that he was two hundred and sixty-three leagues from the island of Ferro, on his journey out before he saw the first sea grass, etc.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11th.

Kept on our course through the night at the rate of twelve miles an hour, and made altogether thirty-nine leagues. During the day made sixteen leagues and a half. Saw many birds, which were believed to indicate a proximity to land.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12th.

Sailed due E, at the rate of six miles an hour, all through the night and by daylight had made seventy-three miles. The sea now began to rise and a storm arose, and even had the caravel been strong and seaworthy there would have been fear as to her safety. Made eleven or twelve leagues through the day but with much labor and danger.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13th.

From sunset until daylight much trouble was experienced from wind and high seas and storm. Lightning was seen to the N N E, three different times, which was understood to mean that a great storm was coming from that direction or from the opposite. Ran under bare poles nearly all night; for a while a little sail was hoisted and made some forty-two miles. To-day the storm abated a little, but later on it increased in fury, and the sea became terrible and the waves crossed each other and broke over the vessels. Made fifty-five miles.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14th.

In the night the wind increased and the sea was most tremendous, the waves crossing and dashing against one another so that the vessel was overwhelmed and not able to get out from between them. The foresail was set very low in order to carry her somewhat out of her dangerous situation; they stood under it for three hours, going twenty miles, when the wind and sea increasing, they began to

drive before it, not having any other remedy. At the same time the Pinta in which was Martin Alonzo, began to scud likewise, and they soon lost sight of her, although the two caravels made signals to one another by lights, until from the fury of the storm they were no longer perceptible. The Admiral drove all night to the N E by E, going fifty-four miles or thirteen leagues. At sunrise the wind still increased, and the cross sea grew more and more terrible; they set the foresail again, low, to carry them out from between the waves, among which they expected to be crushed.

They kept to the E N E, and afterwards to the N E, going in six hours thus, seven leagues and a half. The Admiral ordered that lots should be cast for one of them to go on a pilgrimage to Saint Mary of Guadalupe and carry a wax taper of five pounds weight; he caused them all to take an oath that the one on whom the lot fell, should perform the pilgrimage.

For this purpose as many peas were selected as there were persons on board, one of them was marked with a cross, and the whole shaken together in a cap. The first who put his hand in was the Admiral, and he drew the crossed pea. So the lot fell upon him, and he looked upon himself as bound to accomplish the pilgrimage. Another lot was taken for a pilgrimage to Saint Mary of Loretto, in the marc of Ancona, territory of the Pope, which is the house where Our Lady has performed so many miracles, this fell upon a sailor of Puerto de Santa Maria, called Pedro de Villa; the Admiral promised to furnish him with money for his expenses.

A third lot was determined upon, for the selection of a person who should watch a whole night in Santa Clara de Mogner, and have a mass said there; it fell again upon the Admiral.

After this, he and all the crew made a vow to go in procession, clothed in penitential garments, to the first church dedicated to Our Lady which they should meet with on arriving at land, and there pay their devotion.

Besides these general vows every individual made his

private one, all expecting to be lost, so furious was the rage of the hurricane.

Their danger was increased by the want of ballast in the vessel, as their provisions were mostly consumed, and their wine and water gone, which deficiencies the Admiral had neglected to supply among the islands, because he wished to husband his time in making discoveries, and expected to take in ballast at the isle of the women, which he intended to visit. All the remedy they could devise in the present extremity was to fill with sea water such empty casks as they could get at, and in this manner they obtained some relief.

Here the Admiral states the circumstances which caused him to fear that our Lord would suffer them to perish, and others which gave him hope that He would bring them safe to land, and not allow the important information which they were carrying to the King and Queen to be lost. He seems to have felt the most anxious desire to have his great discovery known, so that the world might be convinced the assertion made by him had been correct, and that he had accomplished what he professed himself able to do; the thought of this not being done, gave him the greatest inquietude, and he was perpetually in apprehension as the smallest trifle might defeat his whole undertaking¹¹⁶ He ascribes this to his want of faith and confidence in the Divine Providence, but comforts himself in reflecting upon the many mercies God had shown him in having enabled him to conquer all his adversities and hindrances in Castile, and accomplish his great discovery.

And as he had made the service of God the aim and business of his undertaking, and he had hitherto favored him in granting all his desire, he indulges a hope that he will continue that favor, and secure him a safe arrival. Especially he reflected that he had delivered him when he had much greater reason for fear, upon the outward voyage at which time the crew rose up against him, and with an unanimous and threatening voice, resolved to turn back but the eternal God gave him spirit and valour against them all.

116 Cada mosquito le podia perturbar é impedir.

With these thoughts and the consideration of other wonderful favours he had experienced he says he ought not to be in fear of the tempest; but he adds that his apprehensions and the anguish of his mind would not allow him to rest; besides, he continues, his anxiety was increased in reflecting upon the state of his two sons whom he had left at their studies in Cordova, these would be left orphans in a foreign land, and the King and Queen being ignorant of the services he had rendered them by the voyage, would not have any inclination to provide for them. On this account, and that their Highnesses might be informed that our Lord had granted success to the enterprise in the discovery of the Indies, and might know that storms did not prevail in those quarters¹¹⁷ (which was apparent from the plants and trees growing down to the very brink of the sea) he devised a method of acquainting them with the circumstances of the voyage in case they should perish in the storm; this he performed by writing upon parchment an account of it, as full as possible, and earnestly entreating the finder to carry it to the King and Queen, of Spain. The parchment was rolled up in a waxed cloth, and well tied; a large wooden cask being then produced he placed it within, and threw in into the sea, none of the crew knowing what it was, but all taking it for some act of devotion. Violent showers of rain followed and the wind shifted to the West, when they scudded before it under the foresail five hours, with a tremendous sea, going two leagues and a half to the N E. The mainsail was taken in, lest the sea should carry it away altogether.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15th.

After sunset last night the sky began to grow clear in the West, and the wind inclined to that quarter. The bonnet was set upon the mainsail. The sea was high, but abating. They steered E N E, four miles an hour, and during the night went thirteen leagues. At sunrise they discovered land ahead,

¹¹⁷ It was a very fortunate circumstance for Columbus that he arrived in the West Indies so late in the year. The hurricane season was just past and had he reached there a month sooner it is probable one of those dreadful tempests would have destroyed his whole fleet.

which some thought to be Madeira, and others the rock of Cintra near Lisbon. The land being about five leagues distant, the wind suddenly came round to the E N E, directly ahead. According to the Admiral's reckoning they were near the Azores, and he took this for one of those islands. The others were by their calculations near Spain.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16th.

All night they beat against the wind for the land which was found to be an island.

They stood to the N E, and N N E till sunrise when they hove about for the south, in quest of the island, which was hidden from them by clouds, and discovered another island astern, at the distance of eight leagues.

From sunrise till night they continued beating for the island against a violent wind and heavy sea. At time of saying the *Salve* which is in the beginning of the night, a light was seen by some of the crew to leeward, which appeared to be the island first seen yesterday. All night they kept plying to windward, to discover if possible, the islands by sunrise. The Admiral took a little rest, having since Wednesday, neither slept nor been able to do so; he found himself exceedingly lame from exposure to the cold and waves and the little food which he had taken. At sunrise¹¹⁸ they steered S S W, and at night espied an island which by reason of the fog, they did not recognize.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18th.

After sunset last night they sailed round the island to find an anchorage and communicate with those on shore. An anchor was dropped which they quickly lost and were obliged to put to sea again, beating to windward all night. At sunrise they stood towards the north part of the island, where they once more cast anchor, and sending the boat to land, ascertained that it was the island of Saint Mary, one of the Azores.

The inhabitants directed them to a harbour for the cara-

118 This was Sunday February 17th.

vel, and declared that they had never witnessed a storm like that which had endured for fifteen days passed, and wondered how the Spaniards had escaped.

The islanders returned thanks to God, and rejoiced much to hear that the Admiral had discovered the Indies. He says that his reckoning had been very true, for which he gave many thanks to Our Lord.

And although it apparently run a little beyond their true situation, yet he had held it for certain that they were in the neighborhood of the Azores, one of which isles he thought this to be upon the discovery of it. He adds that he suffered his reckoning to run ahead of their true progress for the purpose of humoring the pilots and others who made calculations these having manifested great dissatisfaction at finding his accounts differing from their own.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19th.

At sunset three men came down to the beach and hailed the ship. A boat was sent ashore and the three men got in and came on board bringing chickens and fresh bread. It was Shrove Tuesday and they brought other things sent by the captain of the island, whose name was Juan de Castañeda, who said that he knew the Admiral very well, and that it being night he could not come on board, but that he would do so in the morning, and would bring with him more refreshments and would also bring with him the three men belonging to the caravel who had been detained, and that he did not send them now because of the great pleasure it afforded him to hear them tell about their voyage. The Admiral ordered the messengers to be treated with great respect, and had beds prepared for them that they might pass the night comfortably, as it was late and the town was some distance away. And because on the Thursday previous, when they saw the storm raging they made the vow that was mentioned above, and the one, that at the first land they should reach where there was a chapel to Our Lady, they were to go in penitential garb, etc, he willed that half of his crew should go to fulfill it to a house that was near the sea, like a hermitage,

and that he would go with the other half when they returned. Seeing that it was a secure land, and confiding in the offer of the Captain and in the peace that prevailed between Portugal and Castile, he requested the three men to return to the town and ask a priest to come and say Mass for them. The crew then went in compliance with their vow, and while they were at prayer, the whole population on horseback and on foot fell upon them, and with the captain, arrested them all. After a while the Admiral, suspecting nothing, and awaiting the return of the boat, so that he might go with the rest of the crew to perform their part of the obligation, when eleven o'clock came and seeing that they did not return, began to suspect that something had occurred, that they were detained, or that the boat had foundered, because the whole island is surrounded with high reets. The hermitage being around a point of rocks the Admiral was unable to see what was going on, so he weighed anchor and made for a point in view of the hermitage, when he saw many horsemen who dismounted and entered the boat with arms in their hands, and who were making for the caravel with the object of capturing the Admiral. The captain rose in the boat and asked for assurance of personal safety of the Admiral. The latter granted it, but, at the same time demanded to know what had happened that he saw none of his people in the boat. The Admiral added that he might come on board the caravel and that he would comply with any wishes he might make. The Admiral was anxious to attract him with fair words so as to gain possession of his person and thus hold him as a hostage for the return of his own men; not considering that he was violating the promise of security, said he, after offering them peace and friendship, as they had broken faith with him. The captain, as he says, coming with evil intentions did not dare to come on board. Seeing that he would not come on board, the Admiral asked him his reason for detaining his crew, and added that the King of Portugal would be sorry for it; that in the land of the Sovereigns of Castile the Portuguese were always received with great honors; that they could enter Spanish ports

and be as secure as they were in Lisbon, and that the Sovereigns had given him letters of recommendation to all Princes and Lords and men of the world, and that he would show them to him if he would come on board, that he was the Admiral of the Ocean and Viceroy of the Indies, which now belonged to their Highnesses, that he was ready to show these provisions signed with their hands and sealed with their seals, all of which he showed the captain from a distance. Also, that the Sovereigns were in much love and friendship with the King of Portugal, that he had been commanded to do all the honor he could to any ships he might come across from Portugal. Furthermore, that if he refused to release his crew, he would go on to Castile as he had men enough on board to enable him to reach Seville, and that the captain and his people would be severely punished for doing him such an injustice. Then the captain and his followers replied that they did not recognize the King and Queen of Castile, nor their letters, nor were they afraid of them, and that they would let them know what Portugal was, and this was said in a threatening tone. Upon hearing this the Admiral was much troubled, not knowing whether any misunderstanding or disagreement had taken place between the two Kingdoms during his absence; he could not bear not to answer them as they deserved. This done, he says, the captain stood up at a distance and told the Admiral to go with the caravel into the harbor, and that all he had done or was doing was done by command of his King and Lord, to which the Admiral called those in the caravel to bear witness to, and then he called to the captain and to all his people, and gave them his word, and promised them, upon his honor, not to leave his caravel until he had carried off with him one hundred Portuguese to Castile and had depopulated their entire island. And then he returned to anchor where he was at first because the wind and weather were too bad to permit him to do anything else.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20th.

The Admiral commanded the ship to be trimmed and the casks to be filled with sea water, for ballast, because he was

in a very poor harbor and he feared his moorings would be cut, and this really happened. He at once steered for the island of San Miguel, although there is not a good harbor in any of the Azores, in weather like he was then having, so he had no alternative but to put to sea.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21st.

Yesterday left the island of Santa Maria for San Miguel to find a harbor that would afford him shelter in the bad weather, he was having. The wind was high and the sea much agitated, and he ran until night without being able to make out the shore either on one side or the other because of the mist and darkness caused by wind and sea. The Admiral says that he was not without uneasiness, inasmuch as he had but three sailors who were good seamen, because the majority of those on board had very little knowledge of the sea. He stood out all night with much tempest and no little danger, and the Lord was merciful to him in permitting the sea and the waves to come only in one direction, because had the cross seas continued as before, his peril would have been very great.

When daylight came and the island of San Miguel not being in sight, he resolved to return to Santa Maria, in hopes that his crew might succeed in recovering the anchor and moorings they had left there.

He said he was surprised at such bad weather as had prevailed on those islands and in these parts, because in the Indies he had sailed all that winter without anchoring; and there was always fine weather, and that for not one single hour did he see the sea in such a condition as to prevent safe sailing; and that on reaching these islands he had encountered such terrible storms, and the same had befallen him as far as the Canary Islands; but after leaving them he always had smooth seas and pleasant weather. In conclusion, the Admiral says that the sacred theologians and learned philosophers well said that the earthly paradise is at the extremity of the east, because it is a most temperate region; and the lands he had now discovered, as he says, lay to the extreme East.

FRIDAY. FEBRUARY 22d.

Yesterday, anchored off the Island of Santa Maria, in the place where they had anchored before, and then there came a man who appeared upon some rocks that were along the coast, telling them not to go away from there. Shortly afterwards the boat arrived with five sailors and two priests and a notary. They asked for personal security and when assured of it by the Admiral, they boarded the caravel and because it was late at night slept on board, and the Admiral treated them with all the honors possible. In the morning they required him to show his letters of commission from the Sovereigns of Castile so that he might answer to them how, with their authority, he had made that voyage. The Admiral felt that they did this to cover up any appearance of wrong in their action towards him; because they had not been able to secure the person of the Admiral, which they intended to do, having come out to the caravel with arms in their hands; but on seeing that the game had gone against them, and through fear caused by the Admiral's threats, and which he fully intended to carry out they sought to justify themselves. Finally, in order to obtain the release of his men, the Admiral restrained his indignation and showed them the general letter of recommendation of the Sovereigns to all Princes and Lords, together with other documents. He entertained them and sent them on shore where they went quite contented, and soon all the boat's crew returned to the ship. From the sailors who had been detained it was learned that the King of Portugal had issued orders to his commanders of islands and distant ports to seize and detain the Admiral wherever he should be met with.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23d.

Yesterday the weather began to improve and he weighed anchor and cruised around the island to find a good anchorage and to obtain a supply of wood and stones for ballast, but he was unable to find a suitable place before Complines.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24th.

Cast anchor yesterday afternoon to take on wood and stone, and because the sea was too rough the boat could not land, and about the first watch at night, it began to blow W, and S W. He ordered sail set because of the great danger there is along that coast in being caught at anchor by a south wind. The wind veered later from S E, to E. Seeing that this was good weather for making Castile, he did not wait for wood and stone, and stood to E, and by sunrise, which was six hours and a half off, he made seven miles an hour or forty-five and a half miles. From sunrise to sunset he ran six miles an hour, and in eleven hours made sixty-six miles, which with the forty-five made during the night, made one hundred and eleven and a half miles.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25th.

Kept on course due E, and between night and day ran one hundred and thirty-one miles. The sea was calm thanks be to God. A large bird like an eagle came aboard the caravel.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26th.

Kept on course due E, with a smooth sea. Made eight miles and hour at night and made twenty-five leagues. After sunrise, with little wind, and some heavy rain, made eight leagues more to E N E.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27th.

On this day deviated from regular course of head wind and heavy seas, and found the ship to be within one hundred and twenty-five leagues from Cape Saint Vincent and eighty from the island of Madeira, and one hundred and six from Santa Maria. The Admiral's fortitude almost gave way in fear of so many perils and delays when he was almost at the very doors of his home.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28th.

Kept on in the same way through the night with winds shifting from S to S E, and later in the day from N E to E N E.

FRIDAY, MARCH 1st.

Kept on course through the night to E, one quarter N E, and made twelve leagues. Through the day ran E, one quarter N E, twenty-three and a half leagues.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2d.

Continued same course, made twenty-eight leagues through the night and twenty during the day.

SUNDAY, MARCH 3d.

After sunrise kept on her course to the E. A squall of wind struck the caravel and tore all her sails, and left her in great danger, but God delivered them from it. A lot was cast to send a pilgrim barefooted to the shrine of Santa Maria de la Cueva, in Huelva, and as usual, the lot fell upon the Admiral. The whole crew also made a vow, in case their lives were spared, to fast upon bread and water on the following Saturday. They went about sixty miles before their sails were rent and then scudded under bare poles through the terrible storm and cross sea. They saw signs of the proximity of land, and found they were near Lisbon.

MONDAY, MARCH 4th.

Last night the crew of the caravel endured such terrible torments, that they thought they were lost. The sea came upon them from two sides, and the wind seemed to lift the caravel into the air; the rain fell in torrents and frequent flashes of lightning were seen. But the Lord was pleased to bear them up, and they kept on in this way until the first watch when the good Lord led them in sight of land. They knew not where they were nor where to look for a harbor; they dreaded being driven upon shore or dashed upon rocks. Taking in sail, therefore, they kept to sea as much as possible, and waited anxiously for the morning light. At daybreak they found themselves off the Rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus, into which river the Admiral determined to run for shelter as he had no alternative. The inhabitants told them that they had been all that morning praying for them, and

when the ship had made the river in safety, they came off from all sides to congratulate them on their miraculous preservation. The oldest mariners of the place assured the Admiral they had never known so tempestuous a winter; twenty-five Flemish vessels had been lost, and many others had remained for months in port, weather bound. The Admiral wrote immediately to the King of Portugal, who was nine leagues from there, how the Sovereigns of Castile had commanded him not to fail to enter His Highnesses ports and to get whatever he needed at their expense, and that the King would be pleased to send him permission to go up to the city of Lisbon, because some adventurers and unprincipled persons, thinking that his ship was freighted with gold, might, if he remained in a sparsely inhabited neighborhood, be led to commit some depredation; also that it might be known that he did not come from Guinea, but from the Indies.

TUESDAY, MARCH 5th.

To-day, the executive officer of the large vessel of the King of Portugal, which was also anchored off Rastelo, and which was thoroughly equipped with guns and small arms, the like of which, it is said, was never seen, came alongside the caravel in a well armed launch and ordered the Admiral to enter his launch and report to the officer of the King on the said ship. The Admiral replied that he was Admiral to the Sovereigns of Castile and that it was not his place to report to such as they; that he would not leave his ship for theirs unless compelled to do so by force of arms. The officer then asked him to send the master of the caravel; the Admiral replied that neither the master nor any one on board the caravel would go on board his vessel except under compulsion, because to send a representative would be the same as if he went himself, and that it was the custom of the Admirals of Castile to die rather than do anything unbecoming their dignity either personally or by proxy. The officer hereupon moderated his demand, told the Admiral to do as he pleased, but requested him to send him, for inspection, the letters of the Sovereigns of Castile if he had them. The Ad-

miral consented to show them to him, and the latter returned to his ship and reported all that had happened to the captain, Alvaro Dama, who with great pomp and ceremony and blowing of trumpets came aboard the caravel and had an interview with the Admiral, and offered to do anything he should desire.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6th.

As it became known that the Admiral had come from the Indies, to-day such a large number of people from Lisbon came to see him and the Indians that it was really wonderful; so also were the wonderful things they did and giving thanks to God and saying that because of the good faith of the Kings of Castile, they felt a desire to serve God since in His goodness He had given them so much.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7th.

To-day an infinite number of people came to the caravel and many nobles and the officers of the King and all joined in giving the most grateful thanks to the Lord for the many blessings and for the great increase to Christianity He had vouchsafed to the King of Castile, all of which, they said, was well merited because their Highnesses had worked and exerted themselves so much for the advancement of the religion of Christ.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8th.

To-day the Admiral received a letter from the King of Portugal through Don Martin de Noroña, in which he invited him to go where he was and as the weather was not fit for the caravel to set sail he did so in order to remove suspicion though he did not desire to go. He went and spent the night at Sacanben. The King commanded his officers that everything the Admiral or his crew on the caravel required should be given them without charge, and that the Admiral's wishes should be respected in everything.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9th.

Set out to-day from Sacanben to go where the King was which was in Valparaiso, nine leagues from Lisbon. On account of the rain he was unable to reach there before night.

The King sent the chief men of his household to receive him with all honors, and the King also received him with great state, and showed him great favor, commanded him to be seated, and spoke very kindly to him and assured him that he would order done whatever would be most pleasing to the Kings of Castile, and all the more cheerfully on his account. He manifested great pleasure at the successful termination of the voyage, but that he understood that according to the capitulations of the treaty that had been entered into between the Kings and himself, that conquest belonged to him. The Admiral replied that he had never seen those capitulations nor was he aware of anything except that the Kings had commanded that he should not go to La Mina nor to Guinea, and that notice of this had been sent to all the ports in Andalusia before the voyage was undertaken. The King graciously replied that he was sure that in this matter no third party would be required. He made the Admiral the guest of the Prior of Clato, who was the principal person there, and from whom the Admiral received many honors and favors.

SUNDAY, MARCH 10th.

To-day after mass the King again asked the Admiral whether he needed anything, and assured him that if he did it would be given him at once. He talked at great length with the Admiral about his voyage, and always commanded him to be seated and did him much honor.

MONDAY, MARCH 11th.

To-day he took leave of the King who sent some messages on his part to the Kings of Castile and always expressing great affection for them. He departed after dinner and the King sent with him Don Martín de Noroña, and all the noblemen around accompanied him and cheered his way. Later on he came to the Monastery of San Antonio, which is at a place called Villafranca, where the Queen was, and he stopped there to do her reverence and to kiss her hands, because she had sent him word not to depart until she had seen him. With her was the Duke and Mar-

quis; she received the Admiral with much honor. The Admiral set out at nightfall and went as far as Llandra where he spent the night.

TUESDAY, MARCH 12th.

As the Admiral was about to set out from Llandra for the caravel one of the King's esquires arrived and offered him, on the part of the King, saying that if he desired to go to Castile by land, that the esquire should go with him to house him and secure horses and such other accommodations as he might require. When the Admiral parted from him the esquire presented him with a mule and another to the pilot he had with him, and he says that to the pilot he sent a gratuity of twenty espadines;¹¹⁹ as the Admiral learned. All this, he says, was done that the Kings might hear of it. He arrived at the caravel at night.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13th.

To-day, at eight o'clock, with the high tide and the wind N N W, weighed anchor and set sail for Seville.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14th.

Yesterday after sunset followed course due S, and before sunrise was off Cape Saint Vincent, which is in Portugal. After this they stood to eastward headed for Saltes, and sailed all day under a light wind until noon, when they were off Turon.

FRIDAY, MARCH, 15th.

Yesterday after sunset, the ship kept on her course until morning under a light wind and at sunrise they were off Saltes, and now, at noon, with the rising tide, crossed the bar of Saltes and entered the harbor from which they had sailed on August 3d of last year, and he says that he now finished this record, except that he desires to go by sea to Barcelona, in which city he learned that their Highnesses were sojourning. This he would do so as to give them an account of the voyage which Our Lord had permitted him to make, and he

¹¹⁹ Twenty-eight dollars gold of the present day. Equivalent to \$74. considering the depreciation.

was anxious to enlighten them upon it. For, most assuredly he felt that God doeth all things well, and that everything is good except sin, and that no word can be spoken, nor thought that can be hidden from Him. "All this," says the Admiral, "I know from this voyage which has shown it to be so in a most wonderful manner, as can be seen from this record of the many miracles indicated by me which He has performed during the voyage, and to me, who was for so long a time at the court of Your Highnesses with opposition and against the notions of so many of the principal personages of Your household, all of whom were against me and holding me up to ridicule. I trust in the Lord that this success will be to the greatest honor of Christianity." These are the last words of the Admiral Don Cristobal Colom concerning his first voyage to the Indies and his discovery of them.

The foregoing is a copy of the letter of the Bishop Fray Bartolome de las Casas which is still in existence in the archives of the Most Excellent Lord Duque of the Infantado in a little folio volume bound in parchment, with 76 pp, small type.

SECOND VOYAGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

This description of the second voyage of Columbus has been given in Latin by Peter Martyr, of Anghiera, in lib. ii of his "Decades;" but as Doctor Chanca,¹ a native of Seville, who was physician to the fleet in that voyage and was an eye witness of the events he related, has written an account of it in a letter to the Chapter of Seville, it has been deemed advisable to take his account in preference to that of Peter Martyr, which is made up only from information gathered from hearsay. Moreover, Doctor Chanca's description, while it in no way contradicts that of Peter Martyr, is more agreeably written, and mentions some few incidents that are omitted in the narrative of the latter.

Most Noble Sir:—Since the occurrences which I relate in private letters to other persons, are not of such general interest as those which are contained in this episode, I have resolved to give you a distinct narrative of the events of our voyage, as well as to treat of the other matters which form the subject of my petition to you. The news I have to communicate are as follows: The expedition which their Catholic Majesties sent by Divine permission from Spain to the Indies, under the command of Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean, left Cadiz on the twenty-fifth of September, of the year² with wind weather favorable for the voyage.

The wind lasted two days, during which time we man-

1 Doctor Chanca was appointed physician to Columbus's fleet by a dispatch of the 23d of May, 1493, and on the 24th, the chief accountants were instructed to pay him salary and rations as scrivener in the Indies. The curate of Los Palacios makes mention of Doctor Chanca and had this same narration before him, as may be seen in the one hundred and twentieth chapter of his manuscript "History of their Catholic Majesties" (M. F. de Navarrete.)

2 A similar gap in the original. it should say *of the year 1493*.

aged to make fifty leagues; the weather then changing, we made little or no progress for the next two days; it pleased God, however, after this, to restore us fine weather, so that in two days more we reached the Great Canary. Here we put into harbour, which we were obliged to do, to repair one of the ships which made a great deal of water; we remained all that day, and on the following set sail again, but were several times becalmed, so that we were four or five days before we reached Gomera. We had to remain at Gomera one day to lay in our stores of meat, wood, and as much water as we could stow, preparatory to the long voyage which we expected to make without seeing land: thus through the delay at these two ports, and being fixed in a calm one day after leaving Gomera, we were nineteen or twenty days before we arrived at the island of Ferro. After this we had, by the goodness of God, a return of fine weather, more continuous than any fleet ever enjoyed during so long a voyage; so that leaving Ferro on the thirteenth of October, within twenty days we came in sight of land; and we should have seen it in fourteen or fifteen days, if the ship *Capitana* had been as good a sailer as the other vessels; for many times the others had to shorten sail because they were leaving us much behind. During all this time we had great good fortune, for throughout the voyage we encountered no storms, with the exception of one on Saint Simon's eve which for four hours put us in considerable jeopardy. On the first Sunday after All Saints, namely the third of November about dawn, a pilot of the ship *Capitana* cried out: "The reward, I see the land!" The joy of the crew was so great that it was wonderful to hear their cries and exclamations of pleasure; and they had good reason to be delighted, for they had become so wearied of bad living, and of working the water out of the ships, that all sighed most anxiously for land. The pilots of the fleet, reckoned on that day, that between leaving Ferro and first reaching land, we had made eight hundred leagues; others said seven hundred and eighty (so that the difference was not great), and three hundred more between Ferro and Cadiz, making in all eleven

hundred leagues; I do not therefore feel as one who had not seen enough of the water. On the morning of the aforesaid Sunday, we saw lying before us an island, and soon on the right hand another appeared: the first³ was high and mountainous, on the side nearest to us: the other⁴ flat and very thickly wooded; as soon as it became lighter, other islands began to appear on both sides; so that on that day, there were six islands to be seen lying in different directions, and most of them of considerable size.

We directed our course towards that which we had first seen, and reaching the coast, we proceeded more than a league in search of a port where we might anchor, but without finding one: all that part of the island which we could observe, appeared mountainous, very beautiful, and green even up to the water, which was delightful to see for at that season, there is scarcely any thing green in our own country.

When we found that there was no harbour there the Admiral decided that we should go to the other island, which appeared on the right, and which was at four or five leagues distance: one vessel however still remained on the first island all that day seeking for a harbour, in case it should be necessary to return thither. At length having found a good one, where they saw both people and dwellings, they returned that night to the fleet, which had put into harbour at the other island,⁵ and there the Admiral accompanied by a great number of men, landed with the royal banner in his hands, and took formal possession on behalf of their Majesties. This island was filled with an astonishingly thick growth of wood; the variety of unknown trees, some bearing fruit and some flowers, was surprising, and indeed every spot was covered with verdure. We found there a tree whose leaf had the finest smell of cloves that I have ever met

3 The island of Dominica, which is so called from having been discovered on a Sunday (M. F. de Navarrete.)

4 The island Marigalante, which was so called from the name of the ship in which Columbus sailed. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

5 Marigalante.

with; it was like a laurel leaf, but not so large: but I think it was a species of laurel. There were wild fruits of various kinds, some of which our men, not very prudently tasted; and upon only touching them with their tongues, their countenances became inflamed,⁶ and such great heat and pain followed, that they seemed to be mad, and were obliged to resort to refrigerants to cure themselves. We found no signs of any people in this island, and concluded it was uninhabited; we remained only two hours, for it was very late when we landed, and on the following morning we left for another very large island⁷ situated below this at the distance of seven or eight leagues. We approached it under the side of a great mountain, that seemed almost to reach the skies, in the middle of which rose a peak higher than all the rest of the mountain, whence many streams diverted into different channels, especially towards the part at which we arrived. At three leagues distance, we could see an immense fall of water, which discharged itself from such a height that it appeared to fall from the sky; it was seen from so great a distance that it occasioned many wagers to be laid on board the ships, some maintaining that it was but a series of white rocks, and others that it was water. When we came nearer to it, it showed itself distinctly, and it was the most beautiful thing in the world to see from how great a height and from what a small space so large a fall of water was discharged. As soon as we neared the island the Admiral ordered a light caravel to run along the coast to search for a harbour; the captain put into land in a boat, and seeing some houses, leapt on shore and went up to them, the inhabitants fleeing at sight of our men, he then went into the houses and there found various household articles that had been left unremoved, from which he took two parrots, very large and quite different from any we had before seen; he found a great quantity of cotton, both spun and prepared for spinning, and articles of food, all of which he brought away a portion; besides these, he also

⁶ One would infer from this that it was the fruit of the manzanillo, which produces similar effects. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

⁷ Guadalupe.

brought away four or five bones of human arms and legs. On seeing these we suspected that we were amongst the Caribbee islands, which are inhabited by cannibals: for the Admiral, guided by the information respecting their situation which he had received from the Indians of the islands discovered in his former voyage, had directed his course with a view to their discovery, both because they were the nearest to Spain, and because this was the direct track for the island of Española, where he had left some of his people. Thither, by the goodness of God and the wise management of the Admiral, we came in as straight a track as if we had sailed by a well known and frequented route.

This island is very large, and on the spot where we arrived it seemed to us to be twenty-five leagues in length. We sailed more that two leagues along the shore in search of a harbour; on the part towards which we moved appeared very high mountains, and on that which we left extensive plains; on the sea coast there were a few small villages whose inhabitants fled as soon as they saw the sails: at length after proceeding two leagues we found a port late in the evening. That night the Admiral resolved that some of the men should land at break of day in order to confer with the natives, and learn what sort of people they were; although it was suspected, from the appearances of those who had fled at our approach, they were naked, like those whom the Admiral had seen on his former voyage. In the morning several detachments under their respective captains went forth; one of them arrived at the dinner hour, and brought away a boy of about fourteen years of age, as it afterwards appeared who said that he was one of the prisoners taken by these people. The others divided themselves, and one party took a little boy whom a man was leading by the hand, but who left him and fled; this boy they sent on board immediately with some of our men; others remained, and took certain women, natives of the island, together with other women, from among the captives who came of their own accord. One captain of this last company, not knowing that any intelligence of the people had been obtained, advanced farther into the

island and lost himself with the six men who accompanied him: they could not find their way back until after four days, when they lighted upon the sea shore, and following the line of coast returned to the fleet.⁸ We had already looked upon them as killed and eaten by the people that are called Caribbees; for we could not account for their long absence in any other way, since they had among them some pilots who by their knowledge of the stars could navigate either to or from Spain, so that we imagined that they could not lose themselves in so small a space. On this first day of our landing several men and women came on the beach down to the water's edge, and gazed at the ships in astonishment at so novel a sight; and when a boat pushed on shore in order to speak with them, they cried out "tayno, tayno," which is as much as to say, "good, good," and waited for the landing of the sailors, standing by the boat in such a manner that they might escape when they pleased. The result was, that none of the men could be persuaded to join us, and only two were taken by force, who were secured and led away. More than twenty of the female captives were taken with their own consent, and other women natives of the island were surprised and carried off: several of the boys, who were captives, came to us fleeing from the natives of the island who had taken them prisoners. We remained eight days in this port in consequence of the loss of the aforesaid captain, and went many times on shore, passing amongst the dwellings and villages which were on the coast; we found a vast number of human bones and skulls hung up about the houses, like vessels intended for holding various things. There were

8 It was Diego Marquez, the caterer, who with eight other men went on shore into the interior of the island, without permission from the Admiral, who caused him to be sought for by parties of men with trumpets, but without success. One of those who were sent out with this object, was Alonzo Ojeda, who took with him forty men, and on their return they reported that they had found many aromatic plants, a variety of birds, and some considerable rivers. The wanderers were not able to find their way to the ships until the eighth of November. (M. F. Navarrete's note, from Bartholomeo de las Casas' manuscript. History, chap. 84.)

very few men to be seen here, and the women informed us that this was in consequence of ten canoes having gone to make an attack upon other islands. These islanders appeared to us to be more civilized than those that we had hitherto seen; for although all the Indians have houses of straw, yet the houses of these people are constructed in a much superior fashion, are better stocked with provisions, and exhibit more evidences of industry, both on the part of the men and the women. They had a considerable quantity of cotton, both spun and prepared for spinning, and many cotton sheets, so well woven as to be no way inferior to those of our country. We enquired of the women, who were prisoners in the island, what people these islanders were; they replied that they were Caribbees. As soon as they learned that we abhorred such people, on account of their evil practices of eating human flesh, they were much delighted; and, after that, if they brought forward any woman or man of the Caribbees, they informed us (but secretly), that they were such, still evincing by their dread of their conquerors, that they belonged to a vanquished nation, though they knew them all to be in our power. We were enabled to distinguish which of the women were natives, and which were captives, by the Caribbees wearing on each leg two bands of woven cotton, the one fastened round the knee, and the other round the ankle; by this means they make the calves of their legs large, and the above mentioned parts very small, which I imagine that they regard as a matter of refinement; by this peculiarity we distinguished them. The habits of these Caribbees are brutal. There are three islands: the one called Turuqueira; the other, which was the first that we saw, is called Ceyre; the third is called Ayay: there is a resemblance amongst all these, as if they were of one race, and they do no injury to each other; but each and all of them wage war against the other neighbouring islands, and for the purpose of attacking them, make voyages of a hundred and fifty leagues at sea, with their numerous canoes, which are a small kind of craft with one mast. Their

arms are arrows, in the place of iron weapons, and as they have no iron, some of them point their arrows with tortoise shells, and others make their arrow heads of fish spines, which are naturally barbed like coarse saws: these prove dangerous weapons to a naked people like the Indians, and may inflict severe injury, but to men of our nation, are not very formidable. In their attacks upon the neighbouring islands, these people take as many of the woman as they can, especially those who are young and beautiful, and keep them as concubines; and so great a number do they carry off, that in fifty houses no men were to be seen; and out of the number of the captives, more than twenty were young girls. These women also say that the Caribbees use them with such cruelty as would scarcely be believed; and that they eat the children which they bear to them, and only bring up those which they have by their natural wives. Such of their male enemies as they can take alive, they bring to their houses to make a feast of them, and those who are dead they devour at once. They say that man's flesh is so good, that there is nothing like it in the world; and this is pretty evident, for of the bones which we found in their houses, they had gnawed everything that could be gnawed, so that nothing remained of them, but what from its great hardness, could not be eaten; in one of the houses we found the neck of a man, undergoing the process of cooking. When they take any boys prisoners, they dismember them, and make use of them until they grew up to manhood, and when they wished to make a feast they kill and eat them; for they say the flesh of boys and women is not good to eat. Three of these boys came fleeing to us thus mutilated. At the end of four days arrived the captain who had lost himself with his companions, of whose return we had by this time given up all hope; for other parties had been twice sent out to seek him, one of which came back on the same day that he rejoined us, without having gained any information respecting the wanderers: we rejoiced at their arrival, regarding it as a new accession to our numbers. The captain and the men who accompanied him brought back

some women and boys, ten in number: neither this party, nor those who went out to seek them, had seen any of the men of the island, which must have arisen either from their having fled, or possibly from their being very few men in that locality; for, as the women informed us, ten canoes had gone away to make an attack upon the neighbouring islands. The wanderers had returned from the mountains in such an emaciated condition, that it was distressing to see them; when we asked them how it was that they lost themselves, they said that the trees were so thick and close that they could not see the sky; some of them who were mariners had climbed the trees to get a sight of the stars, but could never see them, and if they had not found their way to the sea coast, it would have been impossible to have returned to the fleet. We left this island eight days after our arrival.⁹ The next day at noon we saw another island,¹⁰ not very large, at about twelve leagues distance from the one we were leaving; the greater part of the first day of our departure were kept close in to the coast of this island by a calm, but as the Indian women whom we brought with us said that it was not inhabited, but had been dispeopled by the Carribees, we made no stay in it. On that evening we saw another island,¹¹ and in the night finding there were some sand banks near, we dropped anchor, not venturing to proceed until the morning. On the morrow another island¹² appeared, of considerable size, but we touched at none of these because we were anxious to convey consolation to our people who had been left in Española, but it did not please God to grant us our desire, as will hereafter appear. Another day at the dinner hour we arrived at an island¹³ which seemed to be worth finding, for judging by the extent of cultivation in it, it appeared very populous. We went thither and put into harbour, when the Admiral

9 They left on Sunday the 10th of November. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

10 The island Montserrat. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

11 The Admiral called it Santa Maria la Redonda. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

12 Santa Maria la Antigua.

13 The island of Saint Martin.

immediately sent on shore a well manned barge to hold speech with the Indians, in order to ascertain of what race they were, and also because we considered it necessary to gain some information respecting our course; although it afterwards plainly appeared that the Admiral, who had never made that passage before, had taken a very correct route. But since doubtful questions ought always by investigation to be reduced as nearly to a certainty as possible, he wished that communication should be held with the natives at once, and some of the men who went in the barge leaped on shore and went up to a village, whence the inhabitants had already withdrawn and hidden themselves. They took on this island five or six women and some boys, most of whom were captives, like those on the other island; we learned from the women whom we had brought with us, that the natives of this place, also were Caribbees. As this barge was about to return to the ships with the capture which they had taken, a canoe came along the coast, containing four men, two women, and a boy; and when they saw the fleet they were so stupefied with amazement, that for a good hour they remained motionless at the distance of nearly two gunshots from the ships. In this position they were seen by those who were in the barge and also by all the fleet. Meanwhile those in the barge moved towards the canoe, but so close inshore, that the Indians, in their perplexity and astonishment as to what all this could mean, never saw them, until they were so near that escape was impossible; for our men pressed on them so rapidly that they could not get away, although they made considerable effort to do so. When the Caribbees saw that all attempt at flight was useless, they most courageously took to their bows, both women and men; I say most courageously, because they were only four men and two women, and our people were twenty-five in number. Two of our men were wounded by the Indians, one with two arrow shots in his breast, and another with one in his side, and if it had not happened that they carried shields and wooden bucklers, and that they got near them with the barge and

upset their canoe, most of them would have been killed with their arrows. After their canoe was upset, they remained in the water swimming and occasionally wading (for there were shallows in that part,) still using their bows as much as they could, so that our men had enough to do to take them: and after all there was one of them whom they were unable to secure till he had received a mortal wound with a lance, and whom thus wounded they took to the ships. The difference between these Caribees and the other Indians, with respect to dress, consists in their wearing their hair very long, while the others have it clipped irregularly and paint their heads with crosses and a hundred thousand different devices, each according to his fancy; which they do with sharpened reeds. All of them, both the Caribees and the others, are beardless, so that it is a rare thing to find a man with a beard: the Caribees whom we took had their eyes and eyebrows stained, which I imagine they do from ostentation and to give them a more formidable appearance. One of these captives said, that in an island belonging to them called Cayre (which is the first we saw though we did not go to it,) there is a great quantity of gold; and that if we were to take them nails and tools with which to make their canoes, we might bring away as much gold as we liked. On the same day we left that island, having been there no more than six or seven hours; and steering for another point of land¹⁴ which appeared to lie in our intended course, we reached it by night.

On the morning of the following day we coasted along it, and found it to be a large extent of country, but not continuous, for it was divided into more than forty islets.¹⁵ The land was very high and most of it barren, an appearance which we have never observed in any of the islands visited by us before or since, the surface of the ground

14 The island of *Santa Cruz*, where they anchored on Thursday the fourteenth of November. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

15 The Admiral named the largest of these islands *Saint Ursula*, and all the others *The eleven thousand Virgins*. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

seemed to suggest the probability of its containing metals. None of us went on shore here, but a small latteen caravel went up to one of the islets and found in it some fishermen's huts; the Indian women whom we brought with us said they were not inhabited. We proceeded along the coast the greater part of the day, and on the evening of the next we discovered another island called Burenquen,¹⁶ which we judged to be thirty leagues in length, for we were coasting along it the whole of one day. This island is very beautiful and apparently fertile: hither the Caribbees come with the view of subduing the inhabitants, and often carry away many of the people. These islanders have no boats nor any knowledge of navigation; but, as our captives inform us, they use bows as well as the Caribbees, and if by chance when they are attacked they succeed in taking any of their invaders, they will eat them in like manner as the Caribbees themselves, in the contrary event would devour them.

We remained two days in this island, and a great number of our men went on shore, but could never get speech of the natives, who had all fled, from fear of the Caribbees. All the above mentioned islands were discovered in this voyage, the Admiral having seen nothing of them in his former voyage; they are all very beautiful and possess a most luxuriant soil, but this last island appeared to exceed all the others in beauty. Here terminated the islands which on the side towards Spain had not been seen before by the Admiral, although we regard it as a matter of certainty that there is land more than forty leagues beyond the foremost of these newly discovered islands, on the side nearest to Spain.

We believe this to be the case, because two days before we saw land we observed some birds called rabihorcados or (pelicans, marine birds of prey which do not sit or sleep upon the water,) making circumvolutions in the air at the close of evening previous to taking their flight towards land

¹⁶ The island of *Porto Rico*, to which the Admiral gave the name of *Saint John the Baptist*. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

for the night. These birds could not be going to settle at more than twelve or fifteen leagues distance, because it was late in the evening, and this was on our right hand, on the side towards Spain; from which we all judged that there was land there still undiscovered; but we did not go in search of it, because it would have taken us round out of our intended route. I hope that in a few voyages it will be discovered. It was at dawn that we left the before mentioned island of Burenquen,¹⁷ and on that day before nightfall we caught sight of land, which though not recognized by any of those who had come hither in the former voyage, we believed to be Española, from the information given us by the Indian women whom we had with us: and in this island we remain at present.¹⁸ Between Española and Burenquen¹⁹ another island appeared at a distance, but of no great size. When we reached Española the land, at the part where we approached it, was low, and very flat,²⁰ on seeing which, a general doubt arose as to its identity; for, neither the Admiral nor his companions, on the previous voyage, had seen it on this side. The island being large, it was divided into provinces; the part which we first touched at, is called Hayti; another province adjoining it, they called Xamana; and the next province is named Bohio, where we now are. These provinces are again sub-divided, for they are of great extent. Those who have seen the length of its coast, state that it is two hundred leagues long, and I, myself, should judge it not to be less than a hundred and fifty leagues: as to its breadth, nothing is hitherto known; it is now forty days since a caravel left us with the view of circumnavigating it, and is not yet returned. The country is very remarkable, and contains a vast number of large rivers, and extensive chains of mountains, with broad open valleys, and the mountains

17 Porto Rico.

18 On Friday the twenty-second of November, the Admiral first caught sight of the island of Espanola. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

19 La Mona and Monito. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

20 Cape Engano, in the island of Espanola.

are very high: it does not appear that the grass is ever cut throughout the year. I do not think they have any winter in this part, for near Navidad (at Christmas) were found many bird's nests, some containing the young birds, and others containing eggs. No four-footed animal has ever been seen in this or any of the other islands, except some dogs of various colours, as in our country, but in shape like large house dogs; and also some little animals, in colour, size, and fur like a rabbit, with long tails, and feet like those of a rat; these animals climb up the trees, and many who have tasted them, say they are very good to eat:²¹ there are not any wild beasts. There are great numbers of small snakes, and some lizards, but not many; for the Indians consider them as great a luxury as we do pheasants: they are of the same size as ours, but different in shape. In a small adjacent island²² (close by a harbour called Monte Christo, where we stayed several days,) our men saw an enormous kind of lizard, which they said was as large round as a calf, with a tail as long as a lance, which they often went out to kill: but bulky as it was, it got into the sea so that they could not catch it.

There are, both in this and other islands, an infinite number of birds like those in our own country, and many others such as we had never seen. No kind of domestic fowl has been seen here, with the exception of some ducks in the houses in Zuruquia; these ducks are larger than those of Spain, though smaller than geese, very pretty, with tufts on their heads, most of them as white as snow, but some black. We ran along the coast of this island nearly a hundred leagues, concluding that within this range we should find the spot where the Admiral had left some of his men, and which we supposed to be about the middle of the coast. As we passed by the province called Xam-ana, we sent on shore one of the Indians who had been taken in the previous voyage, clothed, and carrying some

²¹ In all probability a species of *capromys*.

²² Cabra, or Goat island, between Puerto de Plata, and Cas Rouge Point.

trifles, which the Admiral had ordered to be given him. On that day died one of our sailors, a Biscayan, who had been wounded in the affray with the Caribbees, when they were captured, as I have already described, through their want of caution. As we were proceeding along the coast, an opportunity was afforded for a boat to go on shore to bury him, the boat being accompanied by two caravels to protect it. When they reached the shore, a great number of Indians came out to the boat, some of them wearing necklaces and earrings of gold, and expressed a wish to accompany the Spaniards to the ships; but our men refused to take them, because they had not received permission from the Admiral.

When the Indians found that they would not take them two of them got into a small canoe, and went up to one of the caravels that had put into shore; they were received on board with great kindness, and taken to the Admiral's ship, where, through the medium of an interpreter, they related that a certain king had sent them to ascertain who we were, and to invite us to land, adding that they had plenty of gold, and also of provisions, to which we should be welcome. The Admiral desired that shirts and caps, and other trifles should be given to each of them, and said that as he was going to the place where Guacamari dwelt, he would not stop then, but that on a future day he should have the opportunity of seeing him, and with that they departed.

We continued our route till we came to an harbour called Monte Christi, where we remained two days, in order to observe the position of the land, for the Admiral had an objection to the spot where his men had been left with the view of forming a station. We went on shore therefore to survey the formation of the land: there was a large river of excellent water close by;²³ the ground was inundated, and very ill calculated, for habitation. As we went on making our observations on the river and the land, some of our men found two dead bodies by the river

23 The river of Santiago.

side, one with a rope round his neck, and the other with one round his foot: this was on the first day of our landing. On the following day they found two other corpses farther on, and one of these was observed to have a great quantity of beard; this was regarded as a very suspicious circumstance by many of our people, because, as I have already said, all the Indians are beardless. This harbour is twelve leagues²⁴ from the place where the Spaniards had been left under the protection of Guacamari, the king of that province, whom I suppose to be one of the chief men of the island. After two days we set sail for that spot, but as it was late when we arrived there,²⁵ and there were some shoals, where the Admiral's ship had been lost, we did not venture to put in close to the shore, but remained that night at a little less than a league from the coast, waiting until the morning, when we might enter securely. On that evening, a canoe, containing five or six Indians came out at a considerable distance from where we were, and approached us with great celerity.

The Admiral believing that he insured our safety by keeping the sails set, would not wait for them, they, however, perseveringly rowed up to us within gunshot, and then stopped to look at us; but when they saw that we did not wait for them, they put back and went away. After we had anchored that night at the spot in question,²⁶ the Admiral ordered two guns to be fired, to see if the Spaniards, who had remained with Guacamari, would fire in return, for they also had guns with them; but when we received no reply, and could not perceive any fires, nor the slightest symptoms of habitation on the spot, the spirits of our people became much depressed, and they began to entertain the suspicion which the circumstances were naturally calculated to ex-

24 It is only seven leagues.

25 The Admiral anchored at the entrance of the harbour of Navidad, on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of November, towards midnight, and on the following day, in the afternoon, put into the harbour. (M. F. de Navarrete.)

26 The Bay of Caracol, four leagues west of Fort Dauphin.

cite. While all were in this desponding mood, and when four or five hours of the night had passed away, the same canoe which we had seen in the evening, came up, and the Indians with a loud voice addressed the captain of the caravel, which they first approached, inquiring for the Admiral; they were conducted to the Admiral's vessel, but would not go on board till he had spoken to them, and they had asked for a light, in order to assure themselves that it was he who conversed with them. One of them was a cousin of Guacamari, who had been sent by him once before; it appeared that after they had turned back the previous evening, they had been charged by Guacamari with two masks of gold as a present: one for the Admiral, the other for a captain who had accompanied him on the former voyage.

They remained on board for three hours, talking with the Admiral in the presence of all of us, he showing much pleasure in their conversation, and enquiring respecting the welfare of the Spaniards whom he had left behind. Guacamari's cousin replied, that those who remained were all well, but that some of them had died of disease, and others had been killed in quarrels that had arisen amongst them: he said also that the province had been invaded by two kings named Caonabo and Mayreni, who had burned the habitations of the people; and that Guacamari was at some distance, lying ill of a wound in his leg, which was the occasion of his not appearing, but that he would come on the next day.

The Indians then departed, saying they would return on the following day with the said Guacamari, and left us consoled for the night. On the morning of the next day we were expecting that Guacamari would come; and in the meantime, some of our men landed by command of the Admiral, and went to the spot where the Spaniards had formerly been: they found the building which they had inhabited, and which they had in some degree fortified with a palisade, burnt and leveled with the ground; they found also some rags and stuffs which the Indians had brought to throw upon the house. They observed too that the Indians

who were seen near the spot, looked very shy, and dared not approach, but, on the contrary, fled from them.

This appeared strange to us, for the Admiral had told us that in the former voyage, when he arrived at this place so many came in canoes to see us, that there was no keeping them off; and as we now saw that they were suspicious of us, it gave us a very unfavorable impression.

We threw trifles, such as buttons and beads, towards them, in order to conciliate them, but only four, a relation of Guacamari's and three others, took courage to enter the boat, and were rowed on board. When they were asked concerning the Spaniards, they replied that all of them were dead: we had been told this already by one of the Indians whom we had brought from Spain, and who had conversed with the two Indians that on the former occasion came on board with their canoe, but we had not believed it. Guacamari's kinsman was asked who had killed them: he replied that King Caonabo and King Mayreni had made an attack upon them, and burnt the buildings on the spot, that many were wounded in the affray, and among them Guacamari, who had received a wound in his thigh, and had retired to some distance: he also stated that he wished to go and fetch him; upon which some trifles were given to him, and he took his departure for the place of Guacamari's abode. All that day we remained in expectation of them, and when we saw that they did not come, many suspected that the Indians who had been on board the night before, had been drowned, for they had had wine given them two or three times, and they had come in a small canoe that might be easily upset. The next morning the Admiral went on shore, taking some of us with him; we went to the spot where the settlement had been, and found it utterly destroyed by fire, and the clothes of the Spaniards lying about upon the grass, but on that occasion we saw no dead body. There were many different opinions amongst us: some suspecting that Guacamari himself was concerned in the betrayal and death of the Christians; others thought not, because his own residence was burnt:

so that it remained a very doubtful question. The Admiral ordered all the ground which had been occupied by the fortifications of the Spaniards to be searched for he had left orders with them to bury all the gold that they might get. While this was being done, the Admiral wished to examine a spot at about a league's distance, which seemed to be suitable for building a town, for there was yet time to do so; and some of us went thither with him, making our observations of the land as we went along the coast, until we reached a village of seven or eight houses, which the Indians forsook when they saw us approach, carrying away what they could, and leaving the things which they could not remove hidden amongst the grass, around the houses. These people are so degraded that they have not even the sense to select a fitting place to live in; those who dwell on the shore, build for themselves the most miserable hovels that can be imagined, and all the houses are so covered with grass and dampness, that I wonder how they can contrive to exist. In these houses we found many things belonging to the Spaniards, which it could not be supposed they would have bartered; such as a very handsome Moorish mantle, which had not been unfolded since it was brought from Spain, stockings and pieces of cloth, also an anchor belonging to the ship which the Admiral had lost here on the previous voyage; with other articles, which the more confirmed our suspicions. On examining some things which had been very cautiously sewn up in a small basket, we found a man's head wrapped up with great care; this we judged might be the head of a father, or mother, or of some person whom they much regarded; I have since heard that many were found in the same state, which makes me believe that our first impression was the true one. After this we returned. We went on the same day to the site of the settlement; and when we arrived, we found many Indians, who had regained their courage, bartering gold with our men: they had bartered to the extent of a mask: we also learned that they had shown where the bodies of eleven of the dead Spaniards were laid, which were already covered with the grass that had grown over them;

and they all with one voice asserted that Caonabo and Kayreni had killed them; but notwithstanding all this, we began to hear complaints that one of the Spaniards had taken three women to himself, and another four; from whence we drew the inference that jealousy was the cause of the misfortune that had occurred. On the next morning, as no spot in that vicinity appeared suitable for our making a settlement, the Admiral ordered a caravel to go in one direction to look for a convenient locality, while some of us went with him another way. In the course of our explorations, we discovered a harbour of great security; the neighbourhood of which, so far as regarded the formation of the land, was excellent for habitation; but as it was far from any mine of gold, the neighbourhood of which was very desirable, the Admiral decided that we should settle in some spot which would give us greater certainty of attaining that object, provided the position of the land should prove equally convenient. On our return we found the other caravel arrived, in which Melchior and four or five other trustworthy men had been exploring with a similar object. They reported that as they went along the coast, a canoe came out to them in which were two Indians, one of whom was the brother of Guacamari, and was recognized by a pilot who was in the caravel. When he questioned them as to their purpose, they replied that Guacamari sent to beg the Spaniards to come on shore, as he was residing near with as many as fifty families around him. The chief men of the party then went on shore in a boat, proceeded to the place where Guacamari was, and found him stretched on his bed, complaining of a severe wound. They conferred with him, and inquired respecting the Spaniards; his reply was in accordance with the account already given by the others, viz;—that they had been killed by Caonabo and Mayreni, who also had wounded him in the thigh; and in confirmation of his assertion, he showed them the limb bound up: on seeing which, they concluded that his statement was correct. At their departure he gave to each of them a jewel of gold, according to his estimation of their respective merits. The Indians beat the gold

into very thin plates, in order to make masks of it, and set in a cement which they make for that purpose: other ornaments they make of it, to wear on the head and to hang in the ears and nostrils, for these also they require it to be thin; it is not the massiveness of the gold that they admire in their ornaments, but its showy appearance. Guacamari desired them by signs and as well as he was able, to tell the Admiral that as he was thus wounded, he prayed him to have the goodness to come to see him. This adventure the aforesaid sailors related to the Admiral when he arrived. The next morning he resolved to go thither, for the spot could be reached in three hours, being scarcely three leagues distance from the place where we were; but as it would be the dinner hour when we arrived, we dined before we went on shore. After dinner, the Admiral gave orders that all the captains should come with their barges to proceed to the shore, for already on that morning, previous to our departure, the aforesaid brother of Guacamari had come to speak with the Admiral to urge his visit. Then the Admiral went on shore accompanied by all the principal officers, so richly dressed that they would have made a distinguished appearance even in any of our chief cities: he took with him some articles as presents, having already received from Guacamari a certain quantity of gold, and it was reasonable that he should make a commensurate response to his acts and expressions of good will. Guacamari had also provided himself with a present. When we arrived, we found him stretched upon his bed, which was made of cotton net-work, and, according to their custom, suspended. He did not arise, but made from his bed the best gesture of courtesy of which he was capable. He showed much feeling; with tears in his eyes lamented the death of the Spaniards, and began speaking on the subject, with explaining to the best of his power, how some died of disease, others had gone to Caonabo in search of the mine of gold, and had there been killed, and that the rest had been attacked and slain in their own town. According to the appearance of the dead bodies, it was not two months since this had happened.

Then the Admiral presented him with eight marks and a half of gold, six hundred and five pieces of jewelry, of various colours, and a cap of similar jewel work, which I think they ought to value very highly, because in it was a jewel, for which the Admiral, when presenting it, expressed great veneration. It appears to me that these people put more value upon copper than gold. The surgeon of the fleet and myself being present, the Admiral told Guacamari that we were skilled in the treatment of human disorders, and wished that he would show us his wound; he replied that he was willing; upon which I said it would be necessary that he should, if possible, go out of the house, because we could not see well on account of the place being darkened by the throng of people; to this he consented, I think more from timidity than inclination. and left the house leaning on the arm of the Admiral. After he was seated, the surgeon approached him and began to untie the bandage; then he told the Admiral that the wound was made with a *ciba*, by which he meant with a stone. When the wound was uncovered, we went up to examine it: it is certain that there was no more wound on that leg than on the other, although he cunningly pretended that it pained him much. Ignorant as we were of the facts, it was impossible to come to a definite conclusion. There were certainly many proofs of an invasion by a hostile people, so that the Admiral was at a loss what to do; he with many others thought, however, that for the present, and until they could ascertain the truth, they ought to conceal their distrust; for after ascertaining it, they would be able to claim whatever indemnity they thought proper.

That evening Guacamari accompanied the Admiral to the ships, and when they showed him their horses and other objects of interest, their novelty struck him with the greatest amazement: he took supper on board, and returned that evening to his house.

The Admiral told him he wished to settle there and to build houses; to which he asserted, but said that the place

was not wholesome, because it was very damp: and so it most certainly was.

All this passed through the interpretation of two of the Indians who had gone to Spain in the last voyage, who were the sole survivors of seven who had embarked with us; five died on the voyage, and these but narrowly escaped. The next day we anchored in that port; Guacamari sent to know when the Admiral intended leaving, and was told that he should do so on the morrow. The same day Guacamari's brother, and others with him, came on board, bringing gold to barter: on the day of our departure also they bartered a great quantity of gold. There were ten women on board, of those which had been taken in the Caribbee islands, principally from Boriquen, and it was observed that the brother of Guacamari spoke with them; we think that he told them to make an effort to escape that night; for certainly during our first sleep they dropped themselves quietly into the water, and went on shore, so that by the time they were missed they had reached such a distance that only four could be taken by the boats which were in pursuit, and these were secured when just leaving the water: they had to swim considerably more than half a league. The next morning the Admiral sent to desire that Guacamari would cause search to be made for the woman who had escaped in the night, and that he would send them back to the ships. When the messengers arrived they found the place forsaken and not a soul there; this strongly confirmed the suspicions of many, but others said they might have removed to another village, as was their custom. That day we remained quiet, because the weather was contrary for our departure.

On the next morning the Admiral resolved that as the wind was adverse, it would be well to go with the boats to inspect a port on the coast at two leagues' distance further up²⁷ to see if the formation of the land was favourable for a settlement: and we went thither with all the ship's boats, leaving the ships in the harbour. As we moved along the coast the people manifested a sense of insecurity,

²⁷ Port Dauphin.

and when we reached the spot to which we were bound all the natives had fled. While we were walking about this place we found an Indian stretched on the hill-side, close by the houses, with a gaping wound in his shoulder caused by a dart, so that he had been disabled from fleeing any further. The natives of this island fight with sharp darts, which they discharge from cross-bows in the manner as boys in Spain shoot their small arrows, and which they send with considerable skill to a great distance, and certainly upon an unarmed people these weapons are calculated to do serious injury.

The wounded man told us that Caonabo and his people had wounded him and burnt the house of Guacamari. Thus we are still kept in uncertainty respecting the death of our people, on account of the paucity of information on which to form an opinion, and the conflicting and equivocal character of the evidence we have obtained. We did not find the position of the land in this port favourable for healthy habitation, and the Admiral resolved upon returning along the upper coast by which we had come from Spain, because we had had tidings of gold in that direction. But, the weather was so adverse that it cost more labour to sail thirty leagues in a backward direction than the whole voyage from Spain; so that, what with the contrary wind and the length of the passage, three months had elapsed since we first set foot on land. It pleased God, however, that through the check upon our progress caused by contrary winds, we succeeded in finding the best and most suitable spot that we could have selected for a settlement, where there was an excellent harbour²⁸ and abundance of fish, an article in which we stood in great need from the scarcity of meat. The fish caught here are very singular, and more wholesome than those of Spain. The climate does not allow the fish to be kept from one day to another, for all animal food speedily becomes unwholesome, on account of the alternate heat and damp.

²⁸ Port Isabelique, or Isabella, ten leagues to the east of Monte Cristi.

The land is very rich for all purposes; near the harbour there are two rivers, one large,²⁹ and another of moderate breadth somewhat near to it: the water is of a very remarkable quality.

On the bank of it is being built a city called Marta,³⁰ one side of which is bounded by the water with a ravine of cleft rock, so that at that part there is no need of a fortification; the other half is girt with a plantation of trees so thick that a rabbit could scarcely pass through it: and so green that fire will never be able to burn it. A channel has been commenced for a branch of the river, which the managers say they will lead through the middle of the settlement, and will place on it mills of all kinds requiring to be worked by water.

Great quantities of vegetables have been planted, which certainly attain a more luxuriant growth here in eight days than they would in Spain in twenty. We were frequently visited by numbers of Indians, among whom were some of their caciques or chiefs, and many women. They all came loaded with *ajes*³¹ a sort of turnip, very excellent for food, which we dressed in various ways. This food was so nutritious as to prove a great support to all of us after the privations we endured when at sea, which were more severe than ever were suffered by man; for as we could not tell what weather it would please God to send us on our voyage, we were obliged to limit ourselves most rigorously with regard to food, in order that, at all events, we might at least have the means of supporting life: this *aje* the Caribbees called *nabi*, and the Indians *hage*.

The Indians barter gold, provisions, and everything they bring with them, for tags of laces, beads, and pins, and pieces of porringers and dishes. They all, as I have said, go naked as they were born, except the women of this island, who some of them wear a covering of cotton, which they bind round their hips, while others use grass and leaves of trees.

²⁹ The river Isabella.

³⁰ The infant city of Isabella.

³¹ Yams.

When they wish to appear full dressed, both men and women paint themselves, some black, others white, and various colours, in so many devices that the effect is very laughable, they shave some parts of their heads, and in others wear long tufts of matted hair, which have an indescribably ridiculous appearance: in short, whatever would be looked upon in our country as characteristic of a madman, is here regarded by the highest of the Indians as a mark of distinction. In our present position, we are in the neighbourhood of many mines of gold, not one of which we are told, is more than twenty or twenty-five leagues off; the Indians say that some of them are in Nita, in the possession of Caonabo, who killed the Christians; the others are in another place called Cibao, which, if it pleases God, we shall see with our eyes before many days are over; indeed we should go there at once, but that we have so many things to provide that we are not equal to it at present. One third of our people have fallen sick within the last four or five days, which I think has principally arisen from the toil and privations of the journey; another cause has been the variableness of the climate; but I hope in our Lord that all will be restored to health. My idea of this people is, that if we could converse with them, they would all become converted, for they do whatever they see us do, making genuflections before the altars at the Ave Maria and the other parts of the devotional service, and making the sign of the cross. They all say that they wish to be Christians, although in truth they are idolaters, for in their houses they have many kinds of figures: when asked what such a figure was, they would reply it is a thing of *Turey*, by which they meant "of Heaven." I made a pretense of throwing them in the fire, which grieved them so that they began to weep: they believe that everything we bring comes from heaven, and therefore call it *Turey*, which as I have already said, means heaven in their language. The first day that I went on shore to sleep, was the Lord's day: the little time that we have spent on land, has been so much occupied in seeking for a fitting spot for the settlement, and in providing ne-

cessaries, that we have had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with the productions of the soil, yet although the time has been so short, many marvellous things have been seen. We have met with trees bearing wool, of a sufficiently fine quality (according to the opinion of those who are acquainted with the art) to be woven into good cloth; there are so many of these trees that we might load the caravels with wool, although it is troublesome to collect, for the trees are very thorny,³² but some means may be easily found of overcoming this difficulty.

There are also cotton trees as large as peach trees, which produce cotton in the greatest abundance. We found trees producing wax as good both in colour and smell as bees-wax and equally useful for burning, indeed there is no great difference between them. There are vast numbers of trees which yield surprisingly fine turpentine, and a great abundance of tragacanth, also very good. We found other trees which I think bear nutmegs, because the bark tastes and smells like that spice, but at present there is no fruit on them; I saw one root of ginger, which an Indian wore hanging round his neck. There are also aloes; not like those which we have hitherto seen in Spain, but no doubt they are of the same kind as those used by us doctors. A sort of cinnamon also has been found; but, to speak the truth, it is not so fine as that with which we are already acquainted in Spain. I do not know whether this arises from ignorance of the proper season to gather it, or whether the soil does not produce better. We have also seen some yellow mirabolans; at this season they are all lying under the trees, and have a bitter flavour, arising, I think, from the rottenness occasioned by the moisture of the ground; but the taste of such parts as have remained sound, is that of the genuine mirabolan.

There is also very good mastic. None of the natives of these islands, as far as we have yet seen, possess any iron; they have, however, many tools, such as hatchets and

³² A species of the N. O. *Bombacaceæ*; perhaps the *Eriodendron anfractuosum*.

axes, made of stone, which are so handsome and well finished, that it is wonderful how they contrive to make them without the use of iron. Their food consists of bread, made of the roots of a vegetable which is between a tree and a vegetable, and the *age*, which I have already described as being like the turnip, and very good food; they use to season it a spice called *agi*, which they also eat with fish, and such birds as they can catch of the many kinds which abound in the island.

They have, besides, a kind of grain like hazel nuts, very good to eat. They eat all the snakes, and lizards, and spiders and worms that they find upon the ground, so that, to my fancy, their bestiality is greater than that of any beast upon the face of the earth.

The Admiral had at one time determined to leave the search for the mines until he had first despatched the ships which were to return to Spain³³ on account of the great sickness which had prevailed among the men, but afterwards he resolved upon sending two bands under the command of two captains, the one to Cibao,³⁴ and the other to Nita, where, as I have already said, Caonabo lived. These parties went one of them returning on the twentieth and the other on the twenty-first of January. The party that went to Cibao saw gold in so many places as to seem almost incredible, for in truth they found it in more than fifty streamlets and rivers, as well as upon their banks; so that, the captain said they had only to seek throughout that province, and they would find as much as they wished. He brought specimens from the different parts, namely, from the sand of the rivers and small springs.

It is thought, that by digging, it will be found in larger pieces, for the Indians neither know how to dig nor have the

33 In fact he sent twelve vessels under the command of Antonio de Torres, who set sail from the port of Navidad, on the second of February, 1494, charged with an account of all that had occurred. (Navarrete.)

34 This was Alonzo de Ojeda, who went out with fifteen men, in the month of January, 1494, to seek the mines of Cibao, and returned a few days after with good news, having been well received everywhere by the natives. (Navarrete.)

means of digging more than a hand's depth. The other captain, who went to Nita, returned also with news of a great quantity of gold in three or four places; of which he likewise brought specimens. Thus, surely, their Highnesses the King and Queen may henceforth regard themselves as the most prosperous and wealthy Sovereigns in the world; never yet, since the creation, has such a thing been seen or read of; for on the return of the ships from their next voyage, they will be able to carry back such a quantity of gold as will fill with amazement all who hear of it. Here I think I shall do well to break off my narrative. I think those who do not know me will consider me prolix, and somewhat an exaggerator, but God is my witness, that I have not exceeded, by one tittle, the bounds of truth. The preceding is the translation of that part of Doctor Chanca's letter, which refers to intelligence respecting the Indies.³⁵

The remainder of the letter does not bear upon the subject, but treats of private matters, in which Doctor Chanca requests the interference and the support of the Chapter of Seville (of which city he was a native,) in behalf of his family and property, which he had left in the said city.

This letter reached Seville in the month of³⁶ in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-three.

³⁵ It is to be regretted, Navarrete here justly remarks, that Doctor Chanca should not have described the subsequent occurrences in Hispaniola, which are very important, and which have been related by contemporary historians.

³⁶ A similar gap in the original. The date of the year is a mistake. This letter must have been brought by the ships commanded by Torres, and consequently must have been written at the end of January, 1494, after the first expedition of Ojeda. (Navarrete.)

MEMORIAL.

*Memorial of the results of the Second Voyage of the Admiral, Christopher Columbus, to the Indies, drawn up by him for their Most Catholic Majesties, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella; and addressed to Antonio de Torres, from the City of Isabella, the 30th of January, 1494. The reply of their Highnesses is found at the end of each chapter.*¹

The report which you, Antonio de Torres, captain of the ship *Marigalante*, and Governor of the city of Isabella, have to make, on my behalf, to the King and Queen our Sovereigns, is as follows:

Imprimis: after having delivered the credentials which you bear from me to their Highnesses, you will do homage in my name, and commend me to them as to my natural sovereigns, in whose service I desire to continue till death: and you will furthermore be able to lay before them all that you have yourself seen and known respecting me.

Their Highnesses accept and acknowledge the service.

Item. Although, by the letters which I have written to their Highnesses, as well as to Father Buil and to the Treasurer, a clear and comprehensive idea may be formed of all that has transpired since our arrival; you will, notwithstanding, inform their Highnesses, on my behalf, that God has been pleased to manifest such favour towards their service, that not only has nothing hitherto occurred to diminish the importance of what I have formerly written or said to their Highnesses; but on the contrary I hope, by God's grace, shortly to prove it more clearly by facts; because we have found upon the sea shore, without penetrating into the interior of the country, some spots showing so many indications of various spices, as naturally to suggest

¹ In the original the replies are placed on the margin of each chapter. (Navarrete.)

the hope of the best results for the future. The same holds good with respect to the gold mines; for two parties only who were sent out in different directions to discover them, and who, because they had few people with them, remained out but a short time, found, nevertheless, a great number of rivers whose sands contained this precious metal in such quantity, that each man took up a sample of it in his hand; so that our two messengers returned so joyous, and boasted so much of the abundance of gold, that I fear I should weary the attention of their Highnesses, were I to repeat all that they said. But as Gorbalan, who was one of the persons who went on the discovery, is returning to Spain, he will be able to relate all that he has seen and observed; although there remains here another individual, named Hojeda, formerly servant of the Duke of Medinaceli, and a very discreet and pains-taking youth, who without doubt discovered, beyond all comparison, more than the other, judging by the account which he gave of the rivers he had seen; for he reported that each of them contained things that appeared incredible.

It results from all this, that their Highnesses ought to return thanks to God, for the favour which thus accords to all their Highnesses' enterprise.

Their Highnesses return thanks to God for all that is here recorded, and regard as a very signal service all that the Admiral has already done, and is yet doing; for they are sensible that, under God, it is he who has procured for them their present and future possessions in these countries; and as they are about to write to him on this subject more at length they refer to their letter.

Item. You will repeat to their Highnesses what I have already written to them, that I should have ardently desired to have been able to send them, by this occasion, a larger quantity of gold than any they have any hope of our being able to collect, but that the greater part of the people we employed fell suddenly ill. Moreover, the departure of this present expedition could not be delayed any longer, for two reasons: namely, on account of the heavy expense

which their stay here occasioned; and because the weather was favourable for their departure, and for the return of those who should bring back the articles of which we stand in the most pressing need. If the former were to be put off the time of their starting, and the latter were to delay their departure, they would not be able to reach here by the month of May. Besides, if I wished now to undertake a journey to the rivers with those who are well, whether with those who are at sea, or those who are on land in the huts, I should experience great difficulties, and even dangers; because, in traversing three or four and twenty leagues, where there are bays and rivers to pass, we should be obliged to carry, as provision for so long a journey, and for the time necessary for collecting the gold, many articles of food, etc, which could not be carried on our backs, and there are no beasts of burden to be found, to afford the necessary assistance. Moreover, the roads and passes are not in such a condition as I should wish for traveling over, and first of all, I have turned my attention to this point. It would be also extremely inconvenient to leave the sick men here in the open air, or in huts, with such food and defences as they have on shore; although these Indians appear every day to be more simple and harmless to those who land for the purpose of making investigations. In short, although they come every day to visit us, it would nevertheless be imprudent to risk the loss of our men and our provisions, which might very easily happen, if an Indian were only with a lighted coal, to set fire to the huts, for they ramble about both night and day; for this reason, we kept sentinels constantly on the watch while the dwellings are exposed and undefended.

He has done well.

Further, as we have remarked that the greatest part of those who have gone out to make discoveries, have fallen sick on their return, and that some have been even obliged to abandon their undertaking in the middle of their journey, and return, it was equally to be feared that the

same would occur to those who were at the time enjoying good health, if they were also to go.

There were two evils to fear: one, the chance of falling ill in undertaking the same work, in a place where there were no houses nor any kind of protection, and of being exposed to the attacks of the Cacique called Caonabo, who, by all accounts, is a badly disposed man, and extremely daring; who, if he were to find us in a dispirited condition and sick, might venture upon what he would not dare to do if we were well.

The other evil consisted in the difficulty of carrying the gold; for either we should have to carry it in small quantities, and go and return every day, and thus daily expose ourselves to the chance of sickness; or we should have to send it under the escort of a party of our people, and equally run the risk of losing them.

He has done well.

These are the reasons, you will tell their Highnesses, why the departure of the expedition has not been delayed, and why only a sample of the gold is sent to them; but I trust in the mercy of God, who in all things and in every place has guided us hitherto that all our men will be soon restored to health, as, indeed, they are already beginning to be; for there are but a few places which agree with them, but when they are in these places, they speedily recover their health.

One thing is certain, that if they could have fresh meat, they would very quickly, by the help of God, be up and doing; and those who are most sickly, would speedily recover.

I hope that they may be restored. The small number of those who continue well, are employed every day in barricading our dwelling, so as to put it in a state of defence, and in taking necessary measures for the safety of our ammunition, which will be finished now in a few days, for all our fortifications will consist simply of stone walls.² These precautions will be sufficient, as the Indians are not a people to be much afraid of; and, unless they should find us asleep,

² *Albarrada*—an Arabic word implying a stone wall without mortar.

they would not dare to undertake any hostile movements against us, even if they should entertain the idea of so doing. The misfortune which happened to those who remained here must be attributed to their want of vigilance; for however few they were in number, however favourable the opportunity that the Indians had for doing what they did, they would never have ventured to do them any injury, if they had only seen that they took proper precautions against an attack. As soon as that object is gained, I will undertake to go in search of these rivers, either by going by land from hence, and employing the best means we can devise, or else by sea, rounding the island, until we come to the place which is described as being only six or seven leagues from where these rivers that I speak of are situated; so that we may collect the gold in safety, and put it in security against all attacks in some stronghold or tower, which may be quickly built for that purpose: and thus when the two caravels shall return thither, the gold may be taken away and finally sent home in safety at the first favourable season for making the voyage.

This is well, and exactly as he should have done.

Item. You will inform their Highnesses (as indeed has been already done,) that the cause of the sickness so general among us, is the change of air and water, for we find that all of us are affected, though few dangerously; consequently, the preservation of the health of the people will depend, under God, on their being provided with the same food that they are accustomed to in Spain: without this precaution, neither those who are here now, nor those that shall come, will be in a position to be of service to their Highnesses unless they enjoy good health.

We ought to have fresh supplies of provisions until the time that we may be able to gather a sufficient crop from what we shall have sown or planted here: I speak of wheat, barley and grapes, towards the cultivation of which not much has been done this year, from our being unable earlier to choose a convenient settlement. When we had chosen it, the small number of labourers that were with us fell sick; and even when they recovered, we had so few cattle, and these

cattle were so lean and weak, that the utmost they could do was very little; however, they have sown a few plots of ground, rather for the sake of trying the soil, which seems excellent, than with any other object, and the result of our attempts make us look forward to a remedy for our necessities. We are very certain, as the fact has shown, that wheat and grapes will grow very well in this country. We must, however, wait for the fruit, and if it grows as quickly and well as the corn, in proportion to the number of vines that have been planted, we shall certainly not sigh for these productions as the produce of Andalusia and Sicily. There are also sugar-canes, of which the small quantity that we have planted has succeeded very well.

The beauty of the country in these islands, the mountains, the valleys, the streams, the fertile fields watered by broad rivers, in short, everything is so wonderful, that there is no country on which the sun sheds his beams that can present such an appearance, together with so productive a soil.

Since the land is so fertile, it is desirable to sow as much as possible; and Don Juan de Fonseca has been desired to send over immediately everything requisite for that purpose.

Item. You will say, that as a large portion of the wine that we brought with us has run away, and that, as all the men say, in consequence of the bad cooperage of the butts made at Seville, the article that fails us most at this moment, and yet which we most want, is wine; and although we have biscuit and corn for some time longer, it is nevertheless necessary that a reasonable quantity of these be sent to us, for the voyage is a long one, and it is impossible to make a calculation for every day; the same holds good with respect to pork and salt meat, which should be better than what we have had on our voyage hitherto; sheep, lambs, both male and female, young calves and heifers, also are necessary. Consequently it would be expedient that every caravel that may be despatched hither, should bring a stock of these necessities; and at the same time some asses, both male and female, and some mares that can be put to work; for here there are no beasts that can

be employed to assist man in his labour. As I fear that their Highnesses may not be at Seville, and that their officers or ministers will not, without their express instructions, make any movement towards the carrying out of the necessary arrangements for the return voyage; and that, in the interval between the report and the reply, the favourable moment for the departure of the vessels which are to return hither (and which should be in all the month of May) may elapse, you will tell their Highnesses that I have given strict orders that the gold that you carry with you be placed in the hands of some merchant in Seville, in order that he may therefore disburse the sums that shall be necessary for loading the two caravels with wine, corn, and the other articles detailed in this memorial; and this merchant shall convey or send the said gold to their Highnesses that they may see it, receive it, and from it cause to be defrayed the expenses that may arise from the fitting up and loading of the said two caravels. It is necessary, for the encouragement of the men who remain here, and for the support of their spirits, that an effort should be made to let the expedition arrive in the course of the month of May, so that they may have the fresh provisions, and other necessities, before summer, especially for the sick people.

We particularly stand in need of raisins, sugar, almonds, honey, and rice, of which we ought to have had a great quantity, but brought very little with us, and what we had is now consumed. It is the same with the greater part of the medicines that we brought from Spain; which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered how many of our number have been sick. For all these articles, which are intended as much for the sick as for those who are in good health, you carry, as I have already said, memorials signed by my hand; you will execute my orders to the full, if there be sufficient money wherewith to do so, or you will at least procure what is more immediately necessary, and which ought, consequently, to come as speedily as possible by the two vessels. With respect to such articles as cannot be sent off by them, you will, in submission to their Highnesses' pleasure,

look to it that they be sent by other vessels without loss of time.

Their Highnesses will give instructions to Don Juan Ponce de Leon to make immediate inquiry respecting the imposition in the construction of the casks, in order that a sufficient levy be made on the makers to cover the losses occasioned by the waste of the wine, as well as all the other expenses. He will have to see that sugar canes of good quality be sent, and will immediately look to the despatch of the other articles herein required.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that as we are not acquainted with the language of these people, so as to make them acquainted with our holy faith, as their Highnesses and we ourselves desire, and as we will do so soon as we are able, we send by these two vessels some of these cannibal men and women, as well as some children, both male and female.

Their Highnesses can order them to be placed under the care of the most competent persons to teach them the language, giving instructions, at the same time, that they may be employed in useful occupations; and that by degrees more care be bestowed upon them than would be given to other slaves, in order that afterwards one may learn from the other. By not seeing or speaking to each other for a long time, they will learn much sooner in Spain than they will here, and become much better interpreters. We will, however, do what we can; it is true, that as there is little communication between one of these islands and another, there is some difference in their mode of expressing themselves, which mainly depends on the distance between them. But as amongst all these islands, those inhabited by the cannibals are the largest and the most populous, I have thought it expedient to send to Spain men and women from the islands which they inhabit, in the hope that they may one day be led to abandon their barbarous custom of eating their fellow creatures.

By learning the Spanish language in Spain, they will much earlier receive baptism and ensure the salvation of their souls; moreover, it will be a great happiness to the Indians who do not practice the above mentioned cruel custom, when they see that we have seized and led captive those who injure

them, whom they dread so much, that their name alone fills them with horror. You will assure their Highnesses, that our arrival in this country, and the sight of so fine a fleet have produced the most desirable effect and ensured our future safety; for all the inhabitants of this great island, and of those around it, when they see the good treatment that we shall show to those who do well, and the punishment that we shall inflict on those who do wrong, will hasten to submit, and their Highnesses will shortly be able to reckon them among the number of their subjects.

And as even now they not only readily comply with every wish that we express, but also spontaneously endeavor to do what they think will prove agreeable to us; I think that their Highnesses may rest certain, that on many accounts both for the present and the future, the arrival of this fleet has secured for them a wide renown amongst all Christian Princes; but they themselves will be able to form a much better judgment on this subject than it is in my power to put into language.

Let him be informed of what has transpired respecting the cannibals that came over to Spain. He has done well and his suggestions are good; but let him endeavor by all possible means to convert them to our holy Catholic religion, and do the same with respect to the inhabitants of all the islands to which he may go.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses, that for the good of the souls of the said cannibals, and even of the inhabitants of this island, the thought has suggested itself to us, that the greater the number that are sent over to Spain the better, and thus good service may result to their Highnesses in the following manner: considering what great need we have of cattle and of beasts of burden, both for food and to assist the settlers in their work, their Highnesses will be able to authorize a suitable number of caravels to come here every year to bring over the said cattle, etc., in order that the fields may become covered with people and cultivation; these cattle, etc., might be sold at moderate prices for account of the bearers, and the latter might be paid with slaves, taken from

among the Caribbees, who are a wild people, fit for any work, well proportioned and very intelligent, and who when they have got rid of the cruel habits to which they have become accustomed, will be better than any other kind of slaves. When they lose sight of their country, they will forget their cruel customs; and it will be easy to obtain plenty of these savages by means of rowboats that we propose to build. It is taken for granted, that each of the caravels sent by their Highnesses, will have on board a confidential man, who will take care that the vessels do not stop anywhere else than here, where they are to unload and reload their vessels. Their Highnesses might fix duties on the slaves that may be taken over, upon their arrival in Spain. You will ask for a reply upon this point, and bring it to me, in order that I may be able to take the necessary measures, should the proposition merit the approbation of their Highnesses.

The consideration of this subject has been suspended for a time until some other measure may be suggested with reference to the island: the Admiral will do well to write what further he thinks upon the subject.

Item. You will also tell their Highnesses, that freighting the ships by the ton, as the Flemish merchants do, will be more advantageous and less expensive than any other mode, and for this reason, I have given instructions to freight the caravels in this manner that you have to send off. It will be well to adopt this plan with all the others that their Highnesses may send if it meets their approbation; but I do not mean to say that this measure should be applied to the vessels that shall come over licensed for the traffic of slaves.

Their Highnesses have given directions to Don Juan de Fonseca, to have the caravels freighted in the manner described, if it can be done.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses, that in order to save any extra expenses, I have purchased the caravels mentioned in the memorial of which you are the bearer, in order to keep them here with the two vessels, the "Gallega" and the "Capitana," of which by advice of the pilot's

commander, I purchased the three-eighths for the price declared in the said memorial, signed by my hand. These vessels will not only afford strength and security to those who will have to remain on shore and whose duty it will be to make arrangements with the Indians for collecting the gold; but they will be also very useful to ward off any attacks that may be made upon them by strangers; moreover, the caravels will be required for the task of making the discovery of terra firma, and of the islands which lie scattered about in this vicinity. You will therefore beg their Highnesses to pay, at the terms of credit arranged with the sellers, the sums which these vessels shall cost, for without doubt their Highnesses will be very soon reimbursed for what they may expend; at least, such is my belief and hope in the mercy of God.

The Admiral has done well. You will tell him that the sum mentioned has been paid to the sellers of the vessels, and that Don Juan de Fonseca has been ordered to pay the cost of the caravels purchased by the Admiral.

Item. You will speak to their Highnesses, and beseech them on my behalf, in the most humble manner possible, to be pleased to give mature reflection to the observations I make (and which I have most at heart,) with reference to the peacefulness, harmony, and good feeling of those who come hither; and you will beg them to make choice of persons in whom they can place full confidence for all matters connected with their service. You will beseech them to hold in view the purpose for which these men are sent, rather than their own interest; and since you yourself have seen and are acquainted with these matters, you will speak to their Highnesses upon this subject, and will tell them the truth on every point exactly as you have understood it: you will also take care that the orders which their Highnesses shall give on this point be put into effect if possible, by the first vessels, in order that no further injury occur here in the matters that effect their service.

Their Highnesses are well informed of all that takes place, and will see to it that everything is done as it should be.

Item. You will describe to their Highnesses, the position of this city, the beauty of the province in which it is situated, as you have seen it, and as you can honestly speak of it; and you can inform them, that in virtue of the powers which I have received from them, I have made you governor of the said city; and you will tell them also that I humbly beseech them, out of consideration for your services, to receive your nomination favourably, which I sincerely hope they may do.

Their Highnesses are pleased to sanction your appointment as governor.

Item. As Moses Pedro Margarite, an officer of the household to their Highnesses, has done good service, and will, I hope, continue to do so for the future in all matters which may be entrusted to him, I have felt great pleasure in his continuing his stay in this country; and I have been much pleased to find that Gaspar and Beltram also remain: and as they are all three well known to their Highnesses as faithful servants, I shall place them in posts or employments of trust. You will beg their Highnesses especially to have regard to the situation of the said Moses Pedro Margarite, who is married and the father of a family, and beseech them to give him some vacant command in the order of Saint James, of which he is a knight, in order that his wife and children may thus have a competence to live upon. You will also make mention of Juan Aguado, a servant of their Highnesses; you will inform them of the zeal and activity with which he has served them in all matters that have been entrusted to him; and also that I beseech their Highnesses on his behalf, as well as on behalf of those above mentioned, not to forget my recommendation, but to give it full consideration.

Their Highnesses grant an annual pension of thirty thousand maravedis to Moses Pedro Margarite, and pensions of fifteen thousand maravedis to Gaspar and Beltram, which will be reckoned from this day, the 15th of August, 1494. They give orders that the said pensions be paid by the Admiral out of the sums to be paid in the Indies, and by Don Juan de Fonseca out

of the sums to be paid in Spain. With respect to the matter of Juan Aguado, their Highnesses will not be grateful.

Item. You will inform their Highnesses of the continual labor that Doctor Chanca has undergone, from the prodigious number of sick and the scarcity of provisions: and that in spite of all this, he exhibits the greatest zeal and benevolence in everything that relates to his profession. As their Highnesses have entrusted me with the charge of fixing the salary that is to be paid to him while out here (although it is certain that he neither receives, nor can receive anything from any one, and does not receive anything from his position, equal to what he did, and could still do in Spain, where he lived peacefully and at ease in a very different style from what he does here; and, although he declares that he earned more in Spain, exclusive of the pay which he received from their Highnesses,) I have nevertheless, not ventured to place to the credit of his account more than fifty thousand maravedis per annum, as the sum which he is to receive for his yearly labour during the time of his stay in this country. I beg their Highnesses to give their sanction to this salary, exclusive of his maintenance while here; and I do so, because he asserts that all the medical men who attend their Highnesses in the royal yachts, or in any of their expeditions, are accustomed to receive by right the day's pay out of the annual salary of each individual. Let this be as it may I am informed for certain, that on whatever service they are engaged it is the custom to give them a certain fixed sum, settled at the will and by order of their Highnesses, in compensation for the said day's pay. You will, therefore, beg their Highnesses to decide this matter, as well with respect to the annual pay as to the above mentioned usage, so that the said doctor may be reasonably satisfied.

Their Highnesses acknowledge the justice of Doctor Chanca's observations, and it is their wish that the Admiral shall pay him the sum which he has allowed him, exclusive of his fixed annual salary. With respect to the day's pay allowed to medical men,

it is not the custom to authorize them to receive it, except when they are in personal attendance upon the King.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses, what great devotion Coronel has shown to the service in many respects, and what great proofs he has given of it in every important matter that has been trusted to him, and how much we feel his loss now that he is sick. You will represent to them how just it is that he should receive the recompense of such good and loyal services, not only in the favours which may hereafter be shown to him, but also in his present pay, in order that he, and all those that are with us may see what profit will accrue to them from their zeal in the service; for the importance and difficulty of exploring the mines should call for great consideration towards those to whom such extensive interests are entrusted; and, as the talents of the said Coronel have made me determine upon appointing him principal constable of this portion of the Indies, and, as I have given him *carte blanche* for fixing the salaries of those who come under his charge, I beg their Highnesses to condescend to sanction these grants as fully as they may think proper, upon consideration of his services, and to confirm his nomination to the service which I have allotted to him, by giving him an official appointment thereto.

Their Highnesses grant him, besides his salary, an annual pension of fifteen thousand maravedis; the same to be paid him at the same time as the said salary.

Item. You will, at the same time, tell their Highnesses that the bachelor, Gil Garcia, came out here in quality of principal alcalde, without having any salary fixed or allowed to him: that he is a good man, well informed, correct in his conduct, and one that is very necessary to us; and that I beg their Highnesses to be pleased to give him such appointments as shall enable him to support himself honourably; and that such may be granted to him extra the funds due to the appointments given to him beyond the sea.

Their Highnesses grant him an annual pension of twenty thousand maravedis during his stay in the Indies, and that over

and above his fixed appointments; and it is their order that this pension be paid to him at the same time as his salary.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses, as I have already told them in writing, that I think it will be impossible to go this year to make discoveries until arrangements have been made to work the two rivers in which the gold has been found in the most profitable manner for their Highnesses' interest; and this may be done more effectively hereafter, because it is not a thing that every one can do to my satisfaction, or with advantage to their Highnesses' service, unless I be present: for whatever is to be done always turns out best under the eye of the party interested.

Let him continue to carry on his operations, as well as he is able, and let him try to discover the places where the gold is hidden.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses, that the horse soldiers that came from Granada to the review which took place at Seville, offered good horses, but that at the time of their being sent on board, they took advantage of my absence (for I was somewhat indisposed,) and changed them for others, the best of which does not seem worth two thousand maravedis, for they sold the first and bought these; and this deception on the part of the horse soldiers, is very like what I have known to occur to many gentlemen in Seville of my acquaintance. It seems that Juan de Sorias, after having settled an advantageous price for himself, put other horses in the place of those that I expected to find, and when I came to see them, there were horses there that had never been offered to me for sale. In all this the greatest dishonesty has been shown, so that I do not know whether I ought to complain of him alone, since these horse soldiers have been paid their expenses up to the present day, besides their salary and the hire of their horses, and when they are ill, they will not allow their horses to be used, because they are not present. Their Highnesses did not wish the horses to be purchased, but desired that the men should be taken into their service, but only to be employed in work which required them to ride on horse-back, which is not the case at present. All

these considerations lead me to think, that it would be more convenient to buy their horses, which are worth but little, and thus avoid being exposed daily to new disputes; finally, their Highnesses will decide on what plan is best for their own interests.

Their Highnesses order Don Juan de Fonseca to make inquiries respecting the matter of the horses, and if it be true that such a deception has been practised, to send up the culprits to be punished as they deserve; also to gain information respecting the other people that the Admiral speaks of, and to send the result of the information to their Highnesses. With respect to the horse-soldiers, it is their Highnesses' wish and command, that they continue where they are, and remain in service, because they belong to the guards and to the class of their Highnesses' servants. Their Highnesses also command the said horse-soldiers to give up their horses into the charge of the Admiral on all occasions when they shall be required, and if the use of the horses should occasion any loss, their Highnesses direct that compensation shall be made for the amount of the injury, through the medium of the Admiral.

Item: You will mention to their Highnesses, that more than two hundred persons have come here without fixed salaries, and that some of them are very useful to the service; and in order to preserve system and uniformity, the others have been ordered to imitate them. For the three first years, it is desirable that we should have here a thousand men, in order to keep a safeguard upon the island and upon the rivers that supply the gold: and even when we are able to mount a hundred men on horse-back so far from being an evil, it will be a very necessary thing for us; but their Highnesses might pass by the question of the horse men until gold shall be sent. In short, their Highnesses should give instructions as to whether the two hundred people who have come over without pay, should receive pay like the others, if they do their work well; for we certainly have great need of them to commence our labours, as I have already shown.

It is their Highnesses' wish and command, that the two hundred persons without pay shall replace such of those who are paid as have failed, or shall hereafter fail, in their duty, provided they are fit for the service and please the Admiral; and their Highnesses order the Accountant to enter their names in the place of those who shall fail in their duty, as the Admiral shall determine.

Item. As there are means of diminishing the expenses these people occasion, and of saving a considerable portion of the expenditure, by imitating the plans which other princes have been able to employ with great effect, it would be desirable that they should do likewise.

I think it would be well that all ships that come here should be ordered to bring besides the ordinary stores and medicines, shoes, and leather for making shoes, shirts, both of common and superior quality, doublets, laces, some peasants' clothing, breeches, and cloth for making clothes, all at moderate prices, they might also bring other articles such as sweetmeats, which do not enter into the daily ration, nor are absolutely necessary to health. The Spaniards that are here would always be happy to receive such articles as these in lieu of part of their pay; and if they were purchased by men who were selected for their known loyalty, and who take an interest in the service of their Highnesses, great economy would result from this arrangement. If their Highnesses find that this plan is expedient for the service, it is desirable that it should be adopted immediately.

It would have been desirable that the Admiral had entered more fully into the details of this subject; meanwhile Don Juan de Fonseca shall be ordered to instruct Don Ximenes de Bribiesca to make the necessary arrangements for the execution of the proposed plans.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that, in a review that was holden yesterday it was remarked that a great number of the people were without arms, which I think must be attributed partly to the exchange made in Seville, or in the harbour, when those who presented themselves

armed were left for a while, and for a trifle exchanged their arms for others of an inferior quality. I think it would be desirable that two hundred cuirasses, a hundred arquebuses, a hundred arbalists, and many other articles of defensive armour should be sent over to us: for we have great need of them to arm those who are at present without them.

Don Juan de Fonseca has already been written to, to provide them.

Item. Many married persons have come over here, and are engaged in regular duties, such as masons and other tradesmen, who have left their wives in Spain, and wish that the pay that falls due to them may be paid to their wives, or whomsoever they may appoint, in order that they may purchase for them such articles as they may need. I therefore beseech their Highnesses to take such measures as they may deem expedient on this subject; for it is of importance to their interests that these people be well provided for.

Their Highnesses have already ordered Don Juan de Fonseca to attend to this matter.

Item. Besides the other articles which I have begged from their Highnesses in the memorial which you bear, signed by my hand, and which articles consist of provisions and other stores, both for those who are well and for those who are sick, it would be very serviceable that fifty pipes of molasses should be sent hither from the island of Madeira, for it is the most nutritious food in the world, and the most wholesome. A pipe of it does not ordinarily cost more than two ducats, exclusive of the casks; and if their Highnesses would order one of the caravels to call at the said island on the return voyage, the purchase might be made, and they might, at the same time, buy ten casks of sugar, of which we stand greatly in need. It is the most favourable season of the year to obtain it at a cheap rate, that is to say between this and the month of April. The necessary orders might be given, if their Highnesses think

proper, and yet the place of destination be carefully concealed.

Don Juan de Fonseca will see to it.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that, although the rivers contain in their beds the quantity of gold described by those who have seen it, there is no doubt that this metal is produced in the bosom of the earth; and that the water happening to come in contact with the mines, washes it away mingled with the sand. And as among the great number of rivers that have been already discovered there are some of considerable magnitude, there are also some so small that they might rather be called brooks than rivers, only two finger's breadth deep, and very short in their course; there will, therefore, be some men wanted to wash the gold from the sand, and others to seek for it in the bosome of the earth. The latter operation will be the principal and the most productive; it will be expedient therefore, that their Highnesses send men both for the washing and for the mining, from among those who are employed in Spain in the mines at Almaden,⁴ so that, by one means or another, the work may be managed. We shall not, however, wait for the arrival of these workmen, but hope with the aid of God and with the washers that we have here with us when they shall be restored to health, to send a good quantity of gold by the first caravels that shall leave for Spain.

This shall be completely provided for by other means; meanwhile, Don Juan de Fonseca has their Highnesses' orders to send the best miners that he can find. Their Highnesses write also to Almaden, with instructions to select the greatest number that can be spared, and to send them up.

Item. You will beseech their Highnesses very humbly in my name, to condescend to pay regards to my strong recommendation of Villacorta, who, as their Highnesses are in some degree aware, has been extremely useful, and has shown the greatest possible zeal in this affair. From

4 In La Mancha, New Castile, famous for mines of quicksilver.

all that I have observed in him, I consider him a man of strict integrity, zealous and devoted to their Highnesses' service. I shall feel very grateful if they would deign to grant him some confidential employment adapted to his qualifications, and in which he might evince his industry and warm desire to serve their Highnesses: and you will take care that Villacoita shall have practical evidence that none of this work which he has done for me, or under my orders, has remained without recompense.

This shall be done as he wishes.

Item. That the said Moses Pedro Gaspar, Beltran and others remaining here, came to command caravels which have already gone back, and are in receipt of no salary whatever: as these are people who should be employed in matters of principal importance, and requiring the greatest confidence, their pay has not been fixed, because it ought to be different from that of the rest. You will beg their Highnesses, on my behalf, to settle what ought to be given them either yearly or monthly, with respect to their Highnesses' service.

Given in the City of Isabella, the thirtieth of January, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four.

This point has been already replied to above; but as in the said clause it is said that they should receive their pay, it is their Highnesses' command that their salary shall be paid to them from the time that the command was issued.

LETTER

Of the Admiral to the (quondam) nurse of the Prince Don Juan, written about the end of the year 1500.

Most Virtuous Lady: If my complaint of the ill-usage of the world is new, its habit of ill-treating is very old. My combats with it have been countless, and I have resisted all its attacks until now, when I find that neither strength nor prudence is of any avail to me: it has cruelly reduced me to the lowest ebb. Hope in Him who has created us all is my support: His assistance I have always found near at hand. On one occasion, not long since, He supported me with His Divine arm, saying: "O man of little faith, arise, it is I, be not afraid.¹" I offered myself with such earnest devotion to the service of the princes, and I have served them with a fidelity hitherto unequalled and unheard of. God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth, of which He spoke in the Apocalypse by Saint John, after having spoken of it by the mouth of Isaias; and He showed me the spot where to find it. All proved incredulous, except the Queen, my mistress, to whom the Lord gave the spirit of intelligence and the necessary courage, and made her the heiress of all, as a dear and well beloved daughter. I went to take possession of it in her royal name. All wished to cover the ignorance in which they were sunk, by enumerating the inconveniences and expenses of the proposed enterprise. Her Highness held the contrary opinion, and supported it with all her power. Seven years passed away in deliberations, and nine have been spent in accomplishing things truly memorable, and worthy of being preserved in the history of man.

1 Related by his son Don Fernando, and more fully described in the letter of Columbus to their Majesties, describing his fourth voyage. It occurred December 26th, 1499.

I have now reached that point, that there is no man so vile but thinks it his right to insult me. The day will come when the world will reckon it as a virtue to him who has not given his consent to their abuse. If I had plundered the Indies, even to the country where is the fabled altar of Saint Peter's, and had given them all to the Moors, they could not have shown towards me more bitter enmity than they have done in Spain. Who would believe such things in a country where there has always been so much magnanimity? I desire earnestly to clear myself of this affair, if only I had the means of doing so face to face with my Queen. The support which I have found in our Lord and in her Highness has made me persevere; and I would fain cause her to forget a little the griefs which death has occasioned her.² I undertook another voyage to the new heavens and new earth, which had been hidden hitherto; and if these are not appreciated in Spain, like the other parts of the Indies, it is not at all wonderful, since it is to my labors that they are indebted for them. The Holy Spirit encompassed Saint Peter, and the rest of the twelve, who all had conflicts here below; they wrought many works, they suffered great fatigues, and at last they obtained the victory. I believed that this voyage to Paria would in some degree pacify them, because of the pearls and the discovery of gold in the island of Española. I left orders for the people to fish for pearls, and collect them together, and made an agreement with them that I should return for them; and I was given to understand that the supply would be abundant.

If I have not written respecting this to their Highnesses, it is because I wished first to render an equally favourable account of the gold; but it has happened with this as with many other things; I should not have lost them and with them my honor, if I had been only occupied about my own private interests, and had suffered Española to be lost, or even if they had respected my privileges and the treaties. I say the same with regard to the gold which

² The death of her son, Prince Juan, which occurred at Salamanca, October 4th, 1497.

I had then collected, and which I have brought in safety by Divine grace, after so much loss of life, and such excessive fatigues.

In the voyage which I made by way of Paria, I found nearly half the colonists of Española in a state of revolt, and they have made war upon me until now as if I had been a Moor;³ while on the other side, I had to contend with no less cruel Indians. Then arrived Hojeda,⁴ and he attempted to put the seal to all these disorders; he said that their Highnesses had sent him, with promises of presents, of immunities, and treaties; he collected a numerous band, for in the whole island of Española there were few men who were not vagabonds, and there were none who had either wife or children. This Hojeda troubled me much, but he was obliged to retreat, and at his departure he said that he would return with more ships and men, and reported also, that he had left the Queen at the point of death.⁵ In the meanwhile, Vincent Yanez,⁶ came with four caravels; and there were some tumults and suspicions, but no further evil. The Indians reported many other caravels to the cannibals, and in Paria; and afterwards spread the news of the arrival of six other caravels, commanded by a brother of the alcalde; but this was from pure malice; when at last the hope was lost that their Highnesses would send any more ships to the Indies, and we no longer expected them, and when it was said openly that her Highness (the Queen) was dead. At this time, one Adrian⁷ attempt-

3 After Columbus had discovered the island of Trinidad, he sailed along the coast of Paria, discovered the island of Margareta, and entered the harbor of San Domingo, August, 30th, 1498. He found the colony in rebellion, and the Spaniards involved in quarrels, not only with the Indians, but with one another.

4 Alonzo de Hojeda reached Hispaniola, September, 5th, 1498.

5 Roldan had by this time become reconciled to the Admiral, and the rebellion was quelled, when Hojeda arrived making great boast of his favor with Bishop Fonseca, Columbus' enemy, and endeavored to excite fresh animosity against him, but he was compelled to leave Hispaniola for good.

6 This was the commander of the *Nina* in the first voyage.

7 Adrian Mogica, one of the rebels with Roldan.

ed a new revolt, as he had done before; but our Lord did not permit his evil designs to succeed. I had determined not to inflict punishment on any person, but his ingratitude obliged me, however regretfully, to abandon this resolution. I should not have acted otherwise with my own brother, if he had sought to assassinate me, and to rob me of the lordship which my sovereigns had given to my keeping. This Adrian, as is now evident, had sent Don Ferdinand to Xaragua, to assemble some of his partisans, and had some discussions with the *alcalde*, which ended in violence, but all without any good. The *alcalde* seized him and a part of his band, and, in fact, executed justice without my having ordered it. While they were in prison they were expecting a caravel, in which they hoped to embark; but the news of what had happened to Hojeda, and which I told them, deprived them of the hope that he would arrive in this ship. It is now six months that I have been ready to leave, to bring to their Highnesses the good news of the gold, and to give up the government of these dissolute people, who fear neither their King nor Queen, but are full of imbecility and malice. I should have been able to pay every one with six hundred thousand maravedis, and for this purpose there were four millions and more of the tithes, without reckoning the third part of the gold.

Before my departure (from Spain,) I have often entreated their Highnesses to send to these parts at my expense, some one charged to administer justice; and since, when I found the *alcalde* in a state of revolt, I have besought them afresh to send at least one of their servants with letters, because I myself have had so strange a character given to me that if I were to build churches or hospitals they would call them caves for robbers. Their Highnesses provided for this at last, but in a manner quite unequal to the urgency of the circumstances; however, let that point rest, since such is their good pleasure. I remained two years in Spain without being able to obtain anything for myself, or those who came with me, but this man has gained for himself a full purse: God knows if all will be employed for His service.

Already, to begin with, there is a revenue for twenty years, which is, according to man's calculation, an age; and they gather gold in such abundance that there are people who, in four hours, have found the equivalent of five marks; but I will speak on this subject more fully hereafter. If their Highnesses would condescend to silence the popular rumors, which have gained credence among those who know what fatigues I have sustained, it would be a real charity; for calumny has done me more injury than the services which I have rendered to their Highnesses, and the care with which I have preserved their property and their government, have done me good; and, by their so doing, I should be re-established in reputation, and spoken of throughout the universe; for the things which I have accomplished are such, that they must gain, day by day, in the estimation of mankind.

In the meanwhile, the commander Bobadilla,⁸ arrived at Saint Domingo, at which time I was at La Vega, and the Adelantado at Xaragua, where this Adrian had made his attempt; but by that time everything was quiet, the land was thriving, and the people at peace. The second day of his arrival he declared himself governor, created magistrates, ordered executions, published immunities from the collection of gold and from the paying of tithes; and, in fine, announced a general franchise for twenty years, which is, as I have said, the calculation of an age. He also gave out that he was going to pay every one, although they had not even done the service which was due up to that day; and he further proclaimed, with respect to me, that he would send me back loaded with chains, and my brother also (this he has accomplished;) and that neither I, nor any of my family, should return forever to these lands; and, in addition to this, he made innumerable unjust and disgraceful charges against me. All this took place, as I have said, on the very day after his arrival, at which time I was

8 Francisco de Bobadilla, commander of the Order of Calatrava, sent from Spain with a royal commission to endeavor to restore peace and order to the colony. He reached San Domingo, August, 23d, 1500.

absent at a secure distance, thinking neither of him nor of his coming. Some letters of their Highnesses of which he brought a considerable number signed in blank, he filled up with exaggerated language, and sent round to the alcalde and his myrmidons, accompanying them with compliments and flattery. To me he has never sent either a letter or a messenger, nor has he done so to this day. Reflect upon this, madam! What could any man in my situation think? That honor and favor should be granted to him who had given his sanction to plundering their Highnesses of their sovereignty, and who had done so much injury and caused so much mischief?—that he who had defended and preserved their cause through so many dangers, should be dragged through the mire? When I heard this, I thought he must be like Hojeda; or one of the other rebels; but I held my peace, when I learned for certain from the friars that he had been sent by their Highnesses. I wrote to him, to salute him on his arrival, to let him know that I was ready to set out to go to court, and that I had put up to sale all that I possessed. I entreated him not to be in haste on the subject of the immunities; and I assured him that I would shortly yield this, and everything else connected with the government, implicitly into his charge. I wrote the same thing to the ecclesiastics, but I received no answer either from the one or the other. On the contrary, he took a hostile position, and obliged those who went to his residence to acknowledge him for governor, as I have been told, for twenty years. As soon as I knew what he had done with regard to the immunities, I believed it needful to repair so great an error, and I thought he would himself be glad of it; because he had, without any reason or necessity, bestowed upon vagabonds privileges of such importance, that they would have been excessive even for men with wives and children. I published verbally, and by writings, that he could not make use of these grants, because mine had still more power, and I showed the immunities brought by Juan Aguado. All this I did for the purpose of gaining time, that their Highnesses might be informed as to the state of things, and

that they might have opportunity to give fresh orders upon everything touching their interests. It is useless to publish such grants in the Indies—all is in favor of the settlers who have taken up their abode there, because the best lands are given up to them; and, at a low estimate, they are worth two hundred thousand maravedis a head for the four years, at which they are taken, without their having given one stroke of the spade or the mattock. I should not say so much if these people were married men; but there are not six among them all whose purpose is not to amass all they can and then decamp with it. It would be well to send people from Spain, and only to send such as are well known, that the country may be peopled with honest men. I had agreed with these settlers that they should pay the third of the gold and of the tithes; and this they not only assented to, but were very grateful to their Highnesses. I reproached them when I heard they had afterward refused it; they expected, however, to deal with me on the same terms as with the commander, but I would not consent to it. He meanwhile irritated them against me, saying that I wished to deprive them of that which their Highnesses had given them; and strove to make me appear their enemy, in which he succeeded to the full. He induced them to write to their Highnesses, that they should send me no more commissioned as governor, (truly, I do not desire it any more for myself, or for any who belong to me, while the people remain unchanged;) and to conciliate them, he ordered inquiries to be made respecting me with reference to imputed misdeeds, such as were never invented in hell. But God is above, who, with so much wisdom and power, rescued Daniel and the three children, and who, if he please, can rescue me with a similar manifestation of his power, and to the advancement of his own cause. I should have known well enough how to find a remedy for the evils which I now describe and have been describing as having happened to me since I came to the Indies, if I had had the wish or had thought it decent to busy myself about my personal interest; but now I find myself shipwrecked,

because, until now, I have maintained the justice and augmented the territorial dominions of their Highnesses. Now that so much gold is found, these people stop to consider whether they can obtain the greatest quantity of it by theft, or by going to the mines. For one woman they give a hundred castellanos, as for a farm; and this sort of trading is very common, and there are already a great number of merchants who go in search of girls; there are at this moment some nine or ten on sale; they bring a good price, let their age be what it will. In saying that the commander could not confer immunities, I did what he desired, although I told him that it was in order to gain time until their Highnesses had received information respecting the country, and had given their orders as to the regulations best calculated to advance their interest. I say that the calumnies of injurious men have done me more harm than my services have done me good; which is a bad example for the present as well as for the future. I aver that a great number of men have been to the Indies, who did not deserve baptism in the eyes of God or man, and who are now returning thither. The governor has made every one hostile to me; and it appears from the manner of his acting, and the plans that he has adopted, that he was already my enemy, and very virulent against me when he arrived; and it is said that he has been at great expense to obtain this office; but I know nothing about the matter except what I have heard. I never before heard of any one who was commissioned to make an inquiry, assembling the rebels, and taking as evidence against their governor wretches without faith, and who are unworthy of belief. If their Highnesses would cause a general inquiry to be made throughout the land, I assure you they would be astonished that the island has not been swallowed up. I believe that you will recollect that when I was driven by a tempest into the port of Lisbon (having lost my sails,) I was falsely accused of having put in thither with the intention of giving the Indies to the sovereigns of that country. Since then, their Highnesses have learned the contrary, and that the report was produced by the malice of certain people. Although I am

an ignorant man, I do not imagine that any one supposed me so stupid as not to be aware that, even if the Indies had belonged to me, I could not support myself without the assistance of some prince. Since it is thus, where should I find better support, or more security against expulsion, than in the King and Queen, our sovereigns? who from nothing, have raised me to so great an elevation, and who are the greatest princes of the world, on the land and on the sea. These princes know how I have served them, and they uphold my 'privileges and rewards; and if any one violates them, their Highnesses augment them by ordering great favor to be shown me, and ordain me many honors, as was shown in the affair of Juan Aguado. Yes, as I have said, their Highnesses have received some service from me, and have taken my son into their household,⁹ which would not have happened with another prince, because where there is no attachment, all other considerations prove of little weight. If I have now spoken severely of a malicious slander, it is against my will, for it is a subject I would not willingly recall, even in my dreams. The Governor Bobadilla has maliciously exhibited in open day his character and conduct in this affair; but I will prove without difficulty that his ignorance, his laziness, and his inordinate cupidity, have frustrated all his undertakings. I have already said that I wrote him, as well as to the monks, and I set out almost alone, all our people being with the Adelantado and elsewhere, to remove suspicion; when he heard this, he caused D. Diego to be loaded with irons, and thrown into a caravel; he acted in the same manner toward myself, and toward the Adelantado when he arrived. I have never spoken with him, and to this day he has not permitted any one to hold converse with me, and I make oath that I have no conception for what cause I am made prisoner. His first care was to take the gold that I had, and that without measuring or weighing it, although I was absent; he said he would pay those to whom it was owing and if I am to believe that which has been reported to me,

9 Diego Columbus.

he reserved to himself the greater part, and sent for strangers to make the bargains. I had put aside certain specimens of this gold, as large as the eggs of a goose or a fowl, and many other sizes, which had been collected in a short space of time, in order to please their Highnesses, and that they might be impressed with the importance of the affair, when they saw a great number of large stones loaded with gold. This gold was the first that, after he had feathered his own nest (which he was in great haste to do,) his malice suggested to give away, in order that their Highnesses might have a low opinion of the whole affair; the gold which required melting diminished at the fire, and a chain, weighing nearly twenty marks, disappeared altogether. I have been yet more concerned respecting the affair of the pearls, that I have not brought them to their Highnesses. In everything that could add to my annoyance the governor has always shown himself ready to bestir himself. Thus, as I have said, with six hundred thousand maravedis, I should have paid every one, without occasioning loss to any: and I had more than four millions of tithes and constabulary dues, without touching the gold. He made the most absurd gifts, although I believe he began by awarding them to the stronger party; their Highnesses will be able to ascertain the truth on this subject when they demand the account to be rendered them, especially if I may assist at the examination. He is continually saying that there is a considerable sum owing, while it is only what I have already reported, and even less. I have been wounded extremely by the thought that a man should have been sent out to made inquiry into my conduct, who knew that if he sent home a very aggravated account of the result of his investigation, he would remain at the head of the government. Would to God their Highnesses had sent either him or some other person two years ago, for then I know that I should have had no cause to fear either scandal or disgrace; they could not then have taken away my honor, and I could not have been in the position to have lost it. God is just, and He will in due time make known all that has taken place and

why it has taken place. I am judged in Spain as a governor who had been sent to a province, or city, under regular government, and where the laws could be executed without fear of endangering the public weal; and in this I received enormous wrong. I ought to be judged as a captain sent from Spain to the Indies, to conquer a nation numerous and warlike, with customs and religion altogether different from ours; a people who dwell in the mountains, without regular habitations for themselves or for us; and where, by the Divine will, I have subdued another world to the dominion of the King and Queen, our Sovereigns; in consequence of which, Spain, that used to be called poor, is now the most wealthy of kingdoms. I ought to be judged as a captain, who, for so many years has borne arms, never quitting them for an instant. I ought to be judged by cavaliers who have themselves won the meed of victory;¹⁰ by gentlemen, indeed, and not by the lawyers; at least as it would have been among the Greeks and Romans, or any modern nation in which exists so much nobility as in Spain; for under any other judgment I receive great injury, because in the Indies there is neither civil nor judgment seat.

Already the road is opened to the gold and pearls, and it may surely be hoped that precious stones, spices, and a thousand other things will also be found. Would to God that it were as certain that I should suffer no greater wrongs than I have already experienced, as it is that I would, in the name of our Lord, again undertake my first voyage; and that I would undertake to go to Arabia Felix, as far as Mecca, as I have said in the letter that I sent to their Highnesses by Antonio de Torres, in answer to the division of the sea and land between Spain and the Portuguese, and I would go afterward to the North Pole, as I have said and given in writing at the monastery of the Mejorada.

The tidings of the gold which I said I would give, are, that on Christmas-day, being greatly afflicted and tormented by the wicked Spaniards and the Indians, at the moment of

10 The old Spaniards gave the name of "*caballero de conquista*," to each of the conquerors among whom the conquered lands were divided.

leaving all to save my life if possible, our Lord comforted me miraculously, saying to me, "Take courage; do not abandon thyself to sadness and fear; I will provide for all; the seven years, the term of the gold, are not yet passed, and in this, as in the rest, I will redress thee." I learned, that same day, that there were twenty-four leagues of land where they found mines at every step, which appear now to form but one. Some of the people collected a hundred and twenty castellanos' worth in one day, others ninety; and there have been those who have gathered the equivalent of nearly two hundred and fifty castellanos. They consider it a good day's work when they collect from fifty to seventy, or even from twenty to fifty, and many continue searching; the mean day's work is from six to twelve, and those who get less are very dissatisfied. It appears that these mines, like all others, do not yield equally every day; the mines are new, and those who collect their produce are inexperienced. According to the judgment of everybody here, it seems that if all Spain were to come over, every individual, however inexpert he might be, would gain the equivalent of at least one or two castellanos in a day; and so it is up to the present time. It is certain that any man who has an Indian to work for him collects as much, but the working of the traffic depends upon the Spaniard. See, now what discernment was shown by Bobadilla when he gave up everything for nothing, and four millions of tithes without any reason, and even without being asked to do so, and without first giving notice to their Highnesses of his intention; and this is not the only evil which he has caused. I know, assuredly, that the errors which I may have fallen into have been done without the intention to do wrong, and I think that their Highnesses will believe me when I say so; but I know and see that they show mercy toward those who intentionally do injury to their service. I, however, feel very certain that the day will come when they will treat me much better; since, if I have been in error, it has been innocently and under the force of circumstances, as they will shortly understand beyond all doubt. I, who am their creature, and whose services and usefulness they will

every day be more willing to acknowledge. They will weigh all in the balance, even as, according to Holy Scripture, it will be with the evil and the good at the day of judgment. If, nevertheless, their Highnesses ordain me another judge, which I hope will not be the case, and if my examination is to be holden in the Indies, I humbly beseech them to send over two conscientious and respectable persons at my expense, who would readily acknowledge that, at this time, five marks of gold may be found in four hours; be it, however, as it may, it is highly necessary that their Highnesses should have this matter inquired into. The governor, on his arrival at Española, took up his abode in my house, and appropriated to himself all that was therein. Well and good; perhaps he was in want of it; but even a pirate does not behave in this manner toward the merchants that he plunders. That which grieved me most was the seizure of my papers, of which I have never been able to recover one; and those that would have been most useful to me in proving my innocence are precisely those which he has kept most carefully concealed. Behold the just and honest inquisitor! I am told that he does not at all confine himself to the bonds of justice, but that he acts in all things despotically. God our Saviour retains His power and wisdom as of old; and, above all things He punishes ingratitude.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

Which was written by Don Cristobal Colon, Viceroy and Admiral of the Indies, to the most Christian and most mighty King and Queen of Spain, our Sovereigns, and in which he informs them of all the incidents of his voyage, and of the countries, provinces, cities, rivers and other marvellous things, and of where gold mines abound, and other things of great wealth and value are to be found.

Most Serene and very high and Mighty Princes, the King and Queen, our Sovereigns:—From Cadiz I went to the Canary in four days, and thence to the Indies, from which I wrote, in sixteen days. My intention was to hasten my voyage while I had good ships, good crews and provisions, and because my course was to the island of Jamaica. I wrote this on the island of Dominica; and up to the present I have been seeking information.

On the night of my reaching these shores I was beset with a very great storm which has continued ever since.

On reaching the island of Española I despatched a packet of letters, by which I begged as a favor that a ship should be supplied me at my own cost in lieu of one of those that I had brought with me, which had become unseaworthy, and could no longer carry sail. The letters were taken, and your Highnesses will know if a reply has been given to them. For my part I was forbidden to go on shore; the hearts of my people failed them lest I should take them further, and they said that if any danger were to befall them, they should receive no succor, but, on the contrary; in all probability have some great affront offered them. Moreover every man had it in his power to tell me that the new Governor would have the superintendence of the countries that I might acquire.

The tempest was terrible throughout the night, all the ships were separated, and each one driven to the last extrem-

ity, without hope of anything but death; each of them also looked upon the loss of the rest as a matter of certainty. What man was ever born, not even excepting Job, who would not have been ready to die of despair at finding himself as I then was, in anxious fear for my own safety, and that of my son, my brother and my friends, and yet refused permission either to land or to put into harbor on the shores which by God's mercy I had gained for Spain with so much toil and danger.

But to return to the ships: although the tempest had so completely separated them from me as to leave me single, yet the Lord restored them to me in His own good time. The ship which we had the greatest fear of, had put out to sea for safety, and reached the island of Gallega, having lost her boat and a great part of her provisions, which latter loss indeed, all the ships suffered. The vessel in which I was, though dreadfully buffeted, was saved by our Lord's mercy from any injury whatever; my brother went in the ship that was unsound, and he under God was the cause of its being saved. With this tempest I struggled on till I reached Jamaica, and there the sea became calm, but there was a strong current which carried me as far as the Queen's Garden¹ without seeing land. Hence as opportunity afforded I pushed on for terra firma, in spite of the wind and a fearful contrary current, against which I contended for sixty days, and during that time only made seventy leagues. All this time I was unable to get into harbor, nor was there any cessation of the tempest, which was one continuation of rain, thunder and lightning; indeed it seemed as if it were the end of the world. I at length reached the Cape of Gracias á Dios² and after that the Lord granted me fair wind and tide; this was on the twelfth of September. Eighty-eight days did this fearful tempest continue, during which I was at sea, and saw neither sun nor stars; my ships lay exposed, with sails torn, and anchors, rigging, cables, boats and a great quantity of provisions lost; my people were very weak

1 A name given to a group of islands south of Cuba.

2 In Honduras.

and humbled in spirit, many of them promising to lead a religious life, and all making vows and promising to perform pilgrimages, while some of them would frequently go to their messmates and make Confession to one another. Other tempests have been experienced, but never of so long duration or so fearful as this: many whom we looked upon as brave men, on several occasions showed considerable trepidation; but the distress of my son³ who was with me grieved me to the soul, and the more when I considered his tender age, for he was but thirteen years old, and he enduring so much toil for so long a time. Our Lord, however, gave him strength even to enable him to encourage the rest, and he worked as if he had been eighty years at sea, and all this was a consolation to me. I myself had fallen sick, and was many times at the point of death, but from a little cabin that I had caused to be constructed on deck, I directed our course. My brother was in the ship that was in the worst condition and the most exposed to danger; and my grief on this account was the greater that I brought him with me against his will.

Such is my fate, that the twenty years of service through which I have passed with so much toil and danger have profited me nothing, and at this very day I do not possess a roof in Spain that I can call my own; if I wish to eat or sleep, I have nowhere to go but to the inn or tavern, and most times lack wherewith to pay the bill. Another anxiety wrung my very heart-strings, which was the thought of my son Diego, whom I had left an orphan, in Spain, and stripped of the honor and property which were due to him, on my account, although I had looked upon it as a certainty, that your Majesties, as just and grateful Princes, would restore it to him in all respects with increase. I reached the land of Cariay, where I stopped to repair my vessels and take in provisions, as well as to afford relaxation to the men, who had become very weak. I myself (who, as I said before, had been several times at the point of death) gained information respecting the gold mines of

3 This was Ferdinand, his natural son.

which I was in search, in the province of Ciamba; and two Indians conducted me to Carambaru, where the people (who go naked) wear golden mirrors round their necks, which they will neither sell, give, nor part with for any consideration. They named to me many places on the sea-coast where there were both gold and mines. The last that they mentioned was Veragua, which was five-and-twenty leagues distant from the place where we then were. I started with the intention of visiting all of them, but when I had reached the middle of my journey I learned that there were other mines at so short a distance that they might be reached in two days. I determined on sending to see them. It was on the eve of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, which was the day fixed for our departure; but that night there arose so violent a storm that we were forced to go wherever it drove us, and the Indian who was to conduct us to the mines was with us all the time. As I have found everything true that had been told me, in the different places which I had visited, I felt satisfied it would be the same with respect to Ciguare, which, according to their account, is nine days' journey across the country westward: they tell me there is a great quantity of gold there, and that the inhabitants wear coral ornaments on their heads, and very large coral bracelets and anklets, with which article also they adorn and inlay their seats, boxes and tables. They also said that the women there wore necklaces hanging down to their shoulders. All the people agree in the report I now repeat, and their account is so favorable that I should be content with the tithe of the advantages that their description holds out. They are all likewise acquainted with the pepper plant; according to the account of these people, the inhabitants of Ciguare are accustomed to hold fairs and markets for carrying on their commerce, and they showed me also the mode and form in which they transact their various exchanges; others assert that their ships carry guns, and that the men go clothed and use bows and arrows, swords and cuirasses, and that on shore they have horses, which they use in battle, and that they wear rich clothes and have most excellent houses. They also say that the sea surrounds Ciguare, and that at ten

days' journey from thence is the river Ganges; these lands appear to hold the same relation to Veragua, as Tortosa to Fontarabia, or Pisa to Venice. When I left Carambaru, and reached the places in its neighbourhood, which I have above mentioned as being spoken of by the Indians, I found the customs of the people correspond with the accounts that had been given of them, except as regarded the golden mirrors: any man who had one of them would willingly part with it for three hawks' bells, although they were equivalent in weight to ten or fifteen ducats. These people resemble the natives of Española in all their habits. They have various modes of collecting the gold, none of which will bear comparison with the plans adopted by the Christians.

All that I have here stated is from hearsay. This, however, I know, that in the year ninety-four I sailed twenty-four degrees to the westward in nine hours, and there can be no mistake upon the subject, because there was an eclipse; the sun was in Libra, and the moon in Aries. What I had learned by the mouth of these people I already knew in detail from books. Ptolemy thought that he had satisfactorily corrected Marinus, and yet this latter appears to have come very near the truth.⁴ Ptolemy places Catigara at a distance of twelve lines to the west of his meridian, which he fixes at two degrees and a third above Cape Saint Vincent in Portugal. Marinus comprises the earth and its limits in fifteen lines, and the same author describes the Indus in Ethiopia as being more than four-and-twenty degrees from the equinoctial line, and now that the Portuguese have sailed there, they find it correct.⁵ Ptolemy says also that the most southern land is the first boundary, and that it does not go lower down than fifteen degrees and a third. The world is but small; out of seven divisions of it the dry

4 This was in reference to the diameter of the earth, and to the extent of the Indies. It is needless to mention that it was the erroneous theories on this subject which induced Columbus to believe that he could reach the Indies by sailing westward, and led him to make the attempt.

5 The expedition under Vasco de Gama, which sailed in 1497, and reached India *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

part occupies six, and the seventh is entirely covered by water. Experience has shown it, and I have written it with quotations from the Holy Scripture, in other letters, where I have treated of the situation of the terrestrial paradise, as approved by the Holy Church; and I say that the world is not so large as vulgar opinion makes it, and that one degree from the equinoctial line measures fifty-six miles and two-thirds; and this may be proved to a nicety. But I leave this subject, which it is not my intention now to treat upon, but simply to give a narrative of my laborious and painful voyage, although of all my voyages it is the most honorable and advantageous. I have said that on the eve of Saint Simon and Saint Jude I ran before the wind wherever it took me, without power to resist it: at length I found shelter for ten days from the roughness of the sea and the tempest overhead, and resolved not to attempt to go back to the mines, which I regarded as already in our possession. When I started in pursuance of my voyage it was under a heavy rain, and reaching the harbor of Bastimentos I put in, though much against my will. The storm and a rapid current kept me in for fourteen days, when I again set sail, but not with favorable weather. After I had made fifteen leagues with great exertions, the wind and the current drove me back again with great fury, but in again making for the port which I had quitted, I found on the way another port, which I named Retrete, where I put in for shelter with as much risk as regret, the ships being in sad condition, and my crews and myself exceedingly fatigued. I remained there fifteen days, kept in by stress of weather, and when I fancied my troubles were at an end, I found them only begun. It was then that I changed my resolution with respect to proceeding to the mines, and proposed doing something in the interim, until the weather should prove more favourable for my voyage. I had already made four leagues when the storm recommenced and wearied me to such a degree that I absolutely knew not what to do; my wound reopened, and for nine days my life was despaired of; never was the sea so high, so terrific, and so covered with foam; not only did the wind oppose our pro-

ceeding onward, but it also rendered it highly dangerous to run in for any headland, and kept me in that sea which seemed to me as a sea of blood, seething like a cauldron on a mighty fire. Never did the sky look more fearful; during one day and one night it burned like a furnace, and every instant I looked to see if my masts and my sails were not destroyed; for the lightning flashed with such alarming fury that we all thought the ships must have been consumed. All this time the waters from heaven never ceased descending, not to say that it rained, for it was like a repetition of the deluge. The men were at this time so crushed in spirit that they longed for death as a deliverance from so many martyrdoms. Twice already had the ships suffered loss in boats, anchors, and rigging, and were now lying bare without sails.

When it pleased our Lord, I returned to Puerto Gordo, where I recruited my condition as well as I could. I then once more attempted the voyage toward Veragua, although I was by no means in a fit state to undertake it. The wind and currents were still contrary. I arrived at nearly the same spot as before, and there again the wind and currents still opposed my progress; and once again I was compelled to put into port, not daring to encounter the opposition of Saturn with such a boisterous sea, and on so formidable a coast; for it almost always brings on a tempest or severe weather. This was on Christmas-day, about the hour of Mass. Thus, after all these fatigues, I had once more to return to the spot from whence I started; and when the new year had set in, I returned again to my task; but although I had fine weather for my voyage, the ships were no longer in a sailing condition, and my people were either dying or very sick. On the feast of the Epiphany, I reached Veragua in a state of exhaustion; there, by our Lord's goodness, I found a river and a safe harbour, although at the entrance there were only ten spans of water. I succeeded in making an entry, but with great difficulty; and on the following day the storm recommenced, and had I been still on the outside at that time I should have been unable to enter on account of the reef. It rained without

ceasing until the fourteenth of February, so that I could find no opportunity of penetrating into the interior, nor of recruiting my condition in any respect whatever; and on the twenty-fourth of January, when I considered myself in perfect safety, the river suddenly rose with great violence to a considerable height, breaking my cables and the supports to which they were fastened, and nearly carrying away my ships altogether, which certainly appeared to me to be in greater danger than ever. Our Lord, however, brought a remedy as He has always done. I do not know if any one else ever suffered greater trials.

On the sixth of February, while it was still raining, I sent seventy men on shore to go into the interior, and at five leagues' distance they found several mines. The Indians who went with them conducted them to a very lofty mountain, and thence showing the country all round, as far as the eye could reach, told them there was gold in every part, and that, toward the west, the mines extended twenty days' journey; they also recounted the names of the towns and villages where there was more or less of it. I afterward learned that the Cacique Quibian, who had lent these Indians, had ordered them to show the distant mines, and which belonged to an enemy of his; but that in his own territory one man might, if he would, collect in ten days a great abundance of gold. I bring with me some Indians, his servants, who are witnesses of this fact. The boats went up to the spot where the dwellings of these people are situated; and after four hours my brother returned with the guides, all of them bringing back gold which they had collected at that place. The gold must be abundant, and of good quality, for none of these men had ever seen mines before; very many of them had never seen pure gold, and most of them were seamen and lads. Having building materials in abundance, I established a settlement, and made many presents to Quibian, which is the name they gave to the lord of the country. I plainly saw that harmony would not last long, for the natives are of a very rough disposition, and the Spaniards very encroaching; and, moreover, I had taken possession of land belong-

ing to Quibian. When he saw what we did, and found the traffic increasing, he resolved upon burning the houses and putting us all to death; but his project did not succeed, for we took him prisoner, together with his wives, his children, and his servants. His captivity, it is true, lasted but a short time, for he eluded the custody of a trustworthy man, into whose charge he had been given, with a guard of men; and his sons escaped from a ship, in which they had been placed under the special charge of the master.

In the month of January the mouth of the river was entirely closed up, and in April the vessels were so eaten with the teredo,⁶ that they could scarcely be kept above water. At this time the river forced a channel for itself, by which I managed, with great difficulty, to extricate three of them after I had unloaded them. The boats were then sent back into the river for water and salt, but the sea became so high and furious, that it afforded them no chance of exit: upon which the Indians collected themselves together in great numbers, and made an attack upon the boats, and at length massacred the men. My brother, and all the rest of our people, were in a ship, which remained inside; I was alone, outside, upon that dangerous coast suffering from a severe fever and worn with fatigue. All hope of escape was gone. I toiled up to the highest part of the ship, and, with a quivering voice and fast falling tears, I called upon your Highnesses' war-captains from each point of the compass to come to my succor, but there was no reply. At length, groaning with exhaustion, I fell asleep, and heard a compassionate voice address me thus. "O fool, and slow to believe and to serve thy God, the God of all; what did He do more for Moses, or for David his servant, than He has done for thee? From thine infancy He has kept thee under His constant and watchful care. When He saw thee arrived at an age which suited His designs respecting thee He brought wonderful renown to thy name throughout all the land. He gave thee for thine own the Indies, which form so rich a portion of the world, and thou hast divided them as it pleased thee, for He

6 The mollusk that bores through the bottoms of vessels.

gave thee power to do so. He gave thee the keys of those barriers of the ocean sea which were closed with such mighty chains; and thou wast obeyed through many lands, and gained an honorable fame throughout Christendom. What more did the Most High do for the people of Israel, when He brought them out of Egypt? or for David, whom from a shepherd He made to be a king in Judea? Turn to Him, and acknowledge thine error--His mercy is infinite. Thine old age shall not prevent thee from accomplishing any great undertaking. He holds under His sway the greatest possessions. Abraham had exceeded a hundred years of age when he begat Isaac; nor was Sarah young. Thou criest out for uncertain help; answer, who has afflicted thee so much and so often, God or the world? The privileges promised by God He never fails in bestowing; nor does He ever declare, after a service has been rendered Him, that such was not agreeable with His intention, or that He had regarded the matter in another light; nor does He inflict suffering, in order to give effect to the manifestation of His power. His acts answer to His words; and it is His custom to perform all His promises with interest. Thus I have told you what the Creator has done for thee, and what He does for all men. Even now He partially shows thee the reward of so many toils and dangers incurred by thee in the service of others."

I heard all this, as it were, in a trance; but I had no answer to give in definite words, and could but weep for my errors. He who spoke to me, whoever it was, concluded by saying, "Fear not, trust; all these tribulations are recorded on marble, and not without cause." I rose as soon as I could; and at the end of nine days there came fine weather, but not sufficiently so as to allow of drawing the vessels out of the river. I collected the men who were on land, and, in fact, all of them, that I could, because there were not enough to admit of one party remaining on shore while another stayed on board to work the vessel. I myself should have remained with my men to defend the buildings I had constructed, had your Highnesses been cognizant of all the facts; but the doubt whether any ships would ever reach the spot where we

were, as well as the thought, that while I was asking for succor I might bring succor to myself, made me decide upon leaving. I departed, in the name of the Holy Trinity, on Easter night, with the ships rotten, worn out, and eaten into holes. One of them I left at Belen, with a supply of necessaries; I did the same at Belpuerto. I then had only two left, and they in the same state as the others. I was without boats or provisions, and in this condition I had to cross seven thousand miles of sea; or, as an alternative, to die on the passage with my son, my brother, and so many of my people. Let those who are accustomed to slander and aspersion, ask, while they sit in security at home, "Why didst thou not do so and so under such circumstances?" I wish that they were now embarked in this voyage. I verily believe that another journey of another kind awaits them, if there is any reliance to be placed upon our holy faith.

On the thirteenth of May I reached the province of Mago, which is contiguous to that of Cathay, and thence I started for the island of Española. I sailed two days with a good wind, after which it became contrary. The route that I followed called forth all my care to avoid the numerous islands, that I might not be stranded on the shoals that lie in their neighborhood. The sea was very tempestuous, and I was driven backwards under bare poles. I anchored at an island, where I lost, at one stroke, three anchors; and at midnight, when the weather was such that the world appeared to be coming to an end, the cables of the other ship broke, and it came down upon my vessel with such force that it was a wonder we were not dashed to pieces; the single anchor that remained to me, was, next to the Lord, our only preservation. After six days, when the weather became calm, I resumed my journey, having already lost all my tackle; my ships were pierced with wormholes, like a bee-hive, and the crew entirely dispersed and downhearted. I reached the island a little beyond the point at which I first arrived at it, and there I stayed to recover myself from the effects of the storm; but I afterward put

into a much safer port in the same island. After eight days I put to sea again, and reached Jamaica by the end of June; but always beating against contrary winds, and with the ships in the worst possible condition. With three pumps, and the use of pots and kettles, we could scarcely clear the water that came into the ship; there being no remedy but this for the mischief done by the ship-worm. I steered in such a manner as to come as near as possible to Española, from which we were twenty-eight leagues distant, but I afterward wished I had not done so, for the other ship, which was half under water, was obliged to run in for a port. I determined on keeping the sea in spite of the weather, and my vessel was on the very point of sinking when our Lord miraculously brought us upon land. Who will believe what I now write? I assert that in this letter I have not related one-hundredth part of the wonderful events that occurred in this voyage; those who were with the Admiral can bear witness to it. If your Highnesses would be graciously pleased to send to my help a ship of about sixty-four tons, with two hundred quintals of biscuit and other provisions, there would then be sufficient to carry me and my crew from Española to Spain. I have already said that there are not twenty-eight leagues between Jamaica and Española; and I should not have gone there, even if the ships had been in a fit condition for so doing, because your Highnesses ordered me not to land there. God knows if this command has proved of any service. I send this letter by means of and by the hands of Indians: it will be a miracle if it reaches its destination.

This is the account I have to give of my voyage. The men who accompanied me were a hundred and fifty in number, among whom were many calculated for pilots and good sailors, but none of them can explain whither I went nor whence I came; the reason is very simple: I started from a point above the port of Brazil, and while I was in Española, the storm prevented me from following my intended route, for I was obliged to go wherever the wind drove me; at the same time I fell very sick, and there was no one who had navigated in these parts before. However, after some days,

the wind and sea became tranquil, and the storm was succeeded by a calm, but, accompanied with rapid currents. I put into harbor at an island called Isla de las Bocas, and then steered for terra firma; but it is impossible to give a correct account of all our movements, because I was carried away by the current so many days without seeing land. I ascertained, however, by the compass and by observation, that I moved parallel with the coast of terra firma. No one could tell under what part of the heavens, we were, nor at what period I bent my course for the island of Española. The pilots thought we had come to the island of Saint John, whereas it was the land of Mango, four hundred leagues to the westward of where they said. Let them answer and say if they know where Veragua is situated. I assert that they can give no other account than that they went to lands where there was an abundance of gold, and this they can certify surely enough; but they do not know the way to return thither for such a purpose; they would be obliged to go on a voyage of discovery as much as if they had never been there before. There is a mode of reckoning derived from astronomy which is sure and safe, and a sufficient guide to any one who understands it. This resembles a prophetic vision. The Indian vessels do not sail except with the wind abaft, but this is not because they are badly built or clumsy, but because the strong currents in those parts, together with the wind, render it impossible to sail with the bow-line, for in one day they would lose as much way as they might have made in seven; for the same reason I could make no use of caravels, even though they were Portuguese latteens. This is the cause that they do not sail unless with a regular breeze, and they will sometimes stay in harbor waiting for this seven or eight months at a time; nor is this anything wonderful, for the same very often occurs in Spain. The nation of which Pope Pius writes has now been found, judging at least by the situation and other evidences, excepting the horses with the saddles and poitreles and bridles of gold; but this is not to be wondered at, for the lands on the sea coast are only

inhabited by fishermen, and moreover I made no stay there because I was in haste to proceed on my voyage. In Carriay and the neighboring country there are great enchanters of a very fearful character. They would have given the world to prevent my remaining there an hour. When I arrived they sent me immediately two girls very showily dressed; the eldest could not be more than eleven years of age, and the other seven, and both exhibited so much immodesty that more could not be expected from public women; they carried concealed about them a magic powder; when they came I gave them some articles to dress themselves out with, and directly sent them back to the shore. I saw here, built on a mountain, a sepulchre as large as a house, and elaborately sculptured; the body lay uncovered and with the face downward; they also spoke to me of other very excellent works of art. There are many species of animals, both small and large, and very different from those of our country. I had at the time two pigs and an Irish dog, who was always in great dread of them. An archer had wounded an animal like an ape, except that it was larger, and had a face like a man's; the arrow had pierced it from the neck to the tail, which made it so fierce that they were obliged to disable it by cutting off one of its arms and a leg; one of the pigs grew wild on seeing this, and fled; upon which I ordered the *begare* (as the inhabitants called him,) to be thrown to the pig, and though the animal was nearly dead, and the arrow had passed quite through his body, yet he threw his tail round the snout of the pig, and then, holding him firmly, seized him by the nape of the neck with his remaining hand, as if he were engaged with an enemy. This action was so novel and so extraordinary that I have thought it worth while to describe it here. There is a great variety of animals here, but they all die of the barra. I saw some very large fowls (the feathers of which resemble wool,) lions, stags, fallow-deer and birds.

When we were so harassed with our troubles at sea, some of our men imagined that we were under the influence of sorcery, and even to this day entertain the same

notion. Some of the people whom I discovered were cannibals, as was evidenced by the brutality of their countenances. They say that there are great mines of copper in the country, of which they make hatchets and other elaborate articles, both cast and soldered; they also make of it forges, with all the apparatus of the goldsmith, and crucibles. The inhabitants go clothed; and in that province I saw some large sheets of cotton, very elaborately and cleverly worked, and others very delicately penciled in colors. They tell me that more inland, toward Cathay, they have them interwoven with gold. For want of an interpreter we were able to learn but very little respecting these countries, or what they contain. Although the country is very thickly peopled, yet each nation has a very different language; indeed, so much so that they can no more understand each other than we understand the Arabs. I think, however, that this applies to the barbarians on the sea coast, and not to the people who live more inland. When I discovered the Indies I said that they composed the richest lordship in the world: I spoke of gold and pearls and precious stones, of spices and the traffic that might be carried on in them; and because these things were not forthcoming at once, I was abused. This punishment causes me to refrain from relating anything but what the natives tell me. One thing I can venture upon stating, because there are so many witnesses of it, viz.: that in this land of Veragua I saw more signs of gold in the first two days than I saw in Española during four years, and that there is not a more fertile or better cultivated country in all the world, nor one whose inhabitants are more timid; added to which, there is a good harbor, a beautiful river, and the whole place is capable of being easily put into a state of defence. All this tends to the security of the Christians and the permanency of their sovereignty, while it affords the hope of great increase and honor to the Christian religion; moreover, the road hither will be as short as that to Española, because there is a certainty of a fair wind for the passage. Your Highnesses are as much lords of this coun-

try as of Xerez or Toledo, and your ships that may come here will do so with the same freedom as if they were going to your own royal palace. From hence they will obtain gold, and whereas, if they should wish to become masters of the products of other lands, they will have to take them by force or retire empty handed, in this country they will simply have to trust their persons in the hands of a savage.

I have already explained my reason for refraining to treat of other subjects respecting which I might speak. I do not state as certain, nor do I confirm even the sixth part of all that I have said or written, nor do I pretend to be at the fountain-head of the information. The Genoese, Venetians, and all other nations that possess pearls, precious stones, and other articles of value, take them to the ends of the world to exchange them for gold. Gold is the most precious of all commodities; gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of leading souls into paradise. They say that when one of the lords of the country of Veragua dies, they bury all the gold he possessed with his body. There were brought to Solomon at one journey six hundred and sixty-six quintals of gold, besides what the merchants and sailors brought, and that which was paid in Arabia. Of this gold he made 200 lances and 300 shields, and the entablature which was above them was also of gold and ornamented with precious stones: many other things he made likewise of gold, and a great number of vessels of great size, which he enriched with precious stones. This is related by Josephus in his *Chronicle de "Antiquitatibus;"* mention is also made of it in *Paralipomenon* and in the *Book of Kings*. Josephus thinks that this gold was found in the Aurea; if it were so, I contend that these mines of the Aurea are identical with those of Veragua, which, as I have said before, extends westward twenty days' journey, at an equal distance from the pole and the line. Solomon bought all of it—gold, precious stones and silver—but your Majesties need only to send to seek them to have them at

your pleasure. David, in his will, left three thousand quintals of Indian gold to Solomon, to assist in building the Temple; and, according to Josephus, it came from these lands. Jerusalem and Mount Zion are to be rebuilt by the hands of Christians, as God has declared by the mouth of His prophet in the Fourteenth Psalm. The Abbé Joaquim said that he who should do this was to come from Spain: Saint Jerome showed the holy women the way to accomplish it; and the Emperor of China has, some time since, sent for wise men to instruct him in the faith of Christ. Who will offer himself for this work? Should any one do so, I pledge myself, in the name of God, to convey him safely thither, provided the Lord permits me to return to Spain. The people who have sailed with me have passed through incredible toil and danger, and I beseech your Highnesses, since they are poor, to pay them promptly, and to be gracious to each of them according to their respective merits; for I can safely assert, that to my belief they are the bearers of the best news that ever were carried to Spain. With respect to the gold which belongs to Quibian, the cacique of Veragua, and other chiefs in the neighboring country, although it appears by the accounts we have received of it to be very abundant, I do not think it would be well or desirable, on the part of your Highnesses, to take possession of it in the way of plunder; by fair dealing, scandal and disrepute will be avoided, and all the gold will thus reach your Highnesses' treasury without the loss of a grain. With one month of fair weather I shall complete my voyage. As I was deficient in ships, I did not persist in delaying my course; but in everything that concerns you Highnesses' service, I trust in Him who made me, and I hope also that my health will be re-established. I think your Highnesses will remember that I had intended to build some ships in a new manner, but the shortness of the time did not permit it. I had certainly foreseen how things would be. I think more of this opening for commerce, and of the lordship over such extensive mines, than

of all that has been done in the Indies. This is not a child to be left to the care of a stepmother.

I never think of Española, and Paria, and other countries, without shedding tears. I thought that what had occurred there would have been an example for others; on the contrary, these settlements are now in a languid state, although not dead and the malady is incurable, or at least very extensive: let him who brought the evil come now and cure it, if he knows the remedy, or how to apply it; but when a disturbance is on foot, every one is ready to take the lead. It used to be the custom to give thanks and promotion to him who placed his person in jeopardy; but there is no justice in allowing the man who opposed this undertaking to enjoy the fruits of it with his children. Those who left the Indies, avoiding the toils consequent upon the enterprise, and speaking evil of it and me, have since returned with official appointments: such is the case now in Vera-gua: it is an evil example, and profitless both as regards the business in which we are embarked and as respects the general maintenance of justice. The fear of this, with other sufficient considerations which I clearly foresaw, caused me to beg your Highnesses, previously to my coming to discover these islands and terra firma, to grant me permission to govern in your royal name. Your Highnesses granted my request; and it was a privilege and treaty granted under the royal seal and oath, by which I was nominated Viceroy, and Admiral, and Governor-General of all: and your Highnesses limited the extent of my government to a hundred leagues beyond the Azores and Cape Verd Islands, by a line passing from one pole to the other, and gave me ample power over all that I might discover beyond this line; all which is more fully described in the official document.

But the most important affair of all, and that which cries most loudly for redress, remains inexplicable to this moment. For seven years was I at your royal court, where every one to whom the enterprise was mentioned treated it as ridiculous; but now there is not a man, down to the

very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer. There is reason to believe that they make the voyage only for plunder, and that they are permitted to do so, to the great disparagement of my honor, and the detriment of the undertaking itself. It is right to give God his due, and to receive that which belongs to one's self. This is a just sentiment and proceeds from just feelings. The lands in this part of the world which are now under your Highnesses' sway, are richer and more extensive than those of any other Christian power, and yet, after that I had, by the Divine will, placed them under your high and royal sovereignty and was on the point of bringing your Majesties into the receipt of a very great and unexpected revenue; and while I was waiting for ships to convey me in safety, and with a heart full of joy, to your royal presence, victoriously to announce the news of the gold that I had discovered, I was arrested and thrown, with my two brothers, loaded with irons, into a ship, stripped, and very ill-treated, without being allowed any appeal to justice. Who could believe that a poor foreigner would have risen against your Highnesses, in such a place, without any motive or argument on his side; without even the assistance of any other prince upon which to rely; but on the contrary, amongst your own vassals and natural subjects, and with my sons staying at your royal court? I was twenty-eight years old when I came into your Highnesses' service, and now I have not a hair upon me that is not grey; my body is infirm, and all that was left to me, as well as to my brothers, has been taken away and sold, even to the frock that I wore, to my great dishonor. I cannot but believe that this was done without your royal permission. The restitution of my honor, the reparation of my losses, and the punishment of those who have inflicted them, will redound to the honor of your royal character, a similar punishment also is due to those who plundered me of my pearls, and who have brought a disparagement upon the privileges of my Admiralty. Great and unexampled will be the glory and fame of your Highnesses, if you do this; and the memory of your Highnesses, as just and

grateful sovereigns, will survive as a bright example to Spain in future ages. The honest devotedness I have shown to your Majesties' service, and the so unmerited outrage with which it has been repaid, will not allow my soul to keep silence, however much I may wish it: I implore your Highnesses to forgive my complaints. I am indeed in as ruined a condition as I have related; hitherto I have wept over others; may Heaven now have mercy upon me, and may the earth weep for me. With regard to temporal things, I have not even a blanca for an offering; and in spiritual things, I have ceased here in the Indies from observing the prescribed forms of religion. Solitary in my trouble, sick, and in daily expectation of death, surrounded by millions of hostile savages full of cruelty, and thus separated from the blessed sacraments of our holy Church, how will my soul be forgotten if it be separated from the body in this foreign land? Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, and justice! I did not come out on this voyage to gain to myself honor or wealth; this is a certain fact, for at that time all hope of such a thing was dead. I do not lie when I say that I went to your Highnesses with honest purpose of heart and sincere zeal in your cause. I humbly beseech your Highnesses, that if it please God to rescue me from this place, you will graciously sanction my pilgrimage to Rome and other holy places. May the Holy Trinity protect your Highnesses' lives, and add to the prosperity of your exalted position.

Done in the Indies, in the island of Jamaica, on the seventh of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and three.

WILL OF COLUMBUS.¹

In the noble city of Valladolid, on the nineteenth day of the month of May, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and six, before me, Pedro de Hinojedo, clerk of the council of their Highnesses, provincial clerk in their court and chancellery, clerk and notary public in all their kingdoms and seigniories; and of subscribing witnesses: Señor Don Christobal Colon, Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor-General of the islands and mainland of the Indies discovered and by him designated; being infirm in body, he has declared that whereas he had made his will before a public clerk, that he now did revise and revises the said will, and he did approve and has approved it well, and if necessary he did authorize and has authorized it anew. And now, having enlarged his said will, he had written by his own hand a manuscript which he showed and presented before me the said clerk, which he said was written by his own hand, and signed with his name, that he did authorize and has authorized all that is contained in the said manuscript, before me the said clerk, according to and in the manner and form that is contained in said manuscript, and that all the bequests therein contained shall be executed, and be binding as his latest and final wish. And to execute his said will which he had and has made and authorized, and all that is therein contained, each and every part of it, he did name and has named for his executors and fulfillers of his intention Señor Don Diego Colon, his son, and Don Bartholomew Colon, his brother, and Juan de Porras treasurer of Vizcaya, that they all three shall execute his will, and all therein contained and in the said manuscript, and all the bequests, legacies and dispositions therein contained. For which purpose he said that he did give, and has given, all the authority requisite, and that he did authorize and has authorized before me the said clerk all that is contained in the said manuscript; and to those present he said that he did request and has requested that they should be witnesses of it. The witnesses who were present, summoned and requested to observe all that is said below, the Bachelor Andres Mirueña and Gaspar de la Misericordia, inhabitants of this said city of Valladolid, and Bartolomé de Fresco, and Alvaro Perez, and Juan Despinosa, and Andrea and Hernando de Vargas, and Francisco Man-

¹ Written August, 25th, 1505, and executed at Valladolid, May, 19th, 1506, the day before Columbus died. The original text is in Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viajes*, . . . Madrid, 1825.

uel and Fernan Martinez, servants of the said Señor Admiral. The tenor of which said manuscript, as it was written with the own hand of the said Admiral, and signed with his name, *de verbo ad verbum*, is as follows:

When I departed from Spain in the year fifteen hundred and two, I had prepared an ordinance and *mayorazgo* of my property, and in a manner which then seemed to me to conform to my wish and to the service of the eternal God, and to my honor and that of my successors: which manuscript I left in the monastery of Cuevas in Seville, in the care of Fray Don Gaspar,² with my other manuscripts and my privileges, and the letters which I possess of the King and of the Queen, our Sovereigns. The which ordinance I approve and confirm by this, which I write for the better accomplishment and declaration of my intention. The which I direct that it be executed in the manner herein specified and contained, that which is provided for by this, is not to be executed by the other, for there is to be no repetition.

I appoint my dear son Don Diego to be my heir of all my property and offices which I hold by right and inheritance as determined in the mayorazgo, and if he should have no legal male heir that my son Don Ferdinand shall inherit in the same manner, and if he should have no legal male heir that Don Bartholomew, my brother shall inherit in the same manner, and likewise if he should have no male heir, that my other brother shall inherit; thus it is intended, from one to the other next of kin of my family and this continually. And there shall be no female heir unless the males become extinct, and if that should happen let it be the female nearest of kin of my family.

And I direct the said Don Diego, my son, or whoever shall inherit, that they shall neither think nor presume to abridge the said *mayorazgo*, only to increase it and enforce it: it is to be understood that the income which he shall have, with his person and estate, shall be at the service of the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, and for the propagation of the Christian religion.

² Gaspar Gorricio, a close friend of Columbus.

The King and the Queen, our Sovereigns, when I presented to them the Indies—I say presented, because it is evident that by the will of God, our Sovereign, I gave them, as a thing that was mine, I can say, because I importuned their royal Highnesses for them, which were unknown, and the way hidden from those who spoke concerning them, and for the voyage of discovery excepting to use the information and my person, their royal Highnesses did not expend or desire to expend for the purpose more than a million of maravedis, and it was necessary for me to expend the rest: thus it pleased their royal Highnesses that I should have for my portion, out of the said Indies, islands and mainland which are to the west of a line that they ordered to be drawn between the islands of the Azores, and those of Cape Verd, one hundred leagues, which extends from pole to pole; that I should have for my portion the third and the eighth of all, and also the tenth of whatever is found therein, as is declared more fully by my said privileges and letters of grants.

Because heretofore there has been no revenue received from the said Indies, so that I could separate therefrom the sums which I will mention below, and we hope that by the clemency of our sovereign it may amount to a very large sum; my intention would be and is, that Don Ferdinand, my son, should receive of it one million and a half each year, and Don Bartholomew, my brother, one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, and Don Diego, my brother one hundred thousand maravedis, because he belongs to the Church. But this cannot be assured with certainty, because heretofore I have not received nor do I have any known income, as has already been declared.

I say, for the further declaration of the aforesaid, that my wish is that the said Don Diego, my son, shall have the said *mayorazgo* with all my property and offices, in the manner already declared, and as I hold them. *And I say that all the income which he shall receive by reason of the said inheritance, that he shall have ten parts of it every year, and that one part of these ten he shall divide among our relatives who ap-*

pear to have the most need of it, and poor persons, and in other pious works. And afterward from the remaining nine parts he shall take two and divide them into thirty-five parts, and of these Don Ferdinand, my son, shall have twenty-seven, and Don Bartholomew shall have five, and Don Diego, my brother three. And because, as I have already declared, my wish would be that Don Ferdinand, my son, should have one million and a half, and Don Bartholomew one hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, and Don Diego one hundred thousand; and I do not know how it may be assured, because heretofore the said income of the said *mayorazgo* has not been known nor the amount; I say that this order aforesaid should be followed until it shall please our Sovereigns that the said two parts of the said nine shall be sufficient and shall amount to such an increase that they shall contain the said million and a half for Don Ferdinand, and one hundred and fifty thousand for Don Bartholomew, and one hundred thousand for Don Diego. And when it shall please God that it may be so, or that if the said two parts, to be understood of the nine aforesaid, shall amount to the sum of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand maravedis, that all the surplus should belong to Don Diego, my son, or whoever shall inherit; and I say and request of the said Don Diego, my son, or of whoever shall inherit, that if the income of this said *mayorazgo* shall grow largely, that it will please me to have the portion aforesaid increased to Don Ferdinand and to my brothers.

I say that this part which I direct to give to Don Ferdinand, my son, that I make of it a *mayorazgo* for him, and that to him shall succeed his eldest son and in like manner from one to the other perpetually, without the power to sell or exchange or give or abuse in any way, and it shall be in the manner and form which was declared in the other *mayorazgo* which I have made for Don Diego, my son.

I say to Don Diego, my son, and I direct that as soon as he shall have income from the said *mayorazgo* an inher-

itance sufficient to maintain a chapel, that he shall cause to be appointed three chaplains who shall say three masses every day—one to the honor of the Holy Trinity, another to the Conception of our Lady, and the other for the souls of all the faithful dead, *and for my soul and that of my father and mother and wife.* And that if his wealth is sufficient that he shall enrich the said chapel, and shall increase the supplications and prayers for the honor of the Holy Trinity, and if this can be done in the island of Española which God gave to me miraculously, I would be glad to have it there where I invoked it, which is in the plain called of the Conception.

I say and direct to Don Diego, my son, or to whoever shall inherit, that he shall pay all the debts which I leave here in a memorial, in the form therein specified, and all the others which justly seem to be owned by me. And I direct him that he shall have special care for Beatrice Enriquez, the mother of Don Ferdinand, my son, that he shall provide for her so that she may live comfortably, like a person should for whom I have so much regard. And this shall be done for the ease of my conscience, because this has weighed heavily on my soul. The reason therefore it is not proper to mention here. Done on the twenty-fifth of August in the year one thousand five hundred and five.

Christo fereus.

The witnesses who were present and who saw done and authorized all the above said by the said Señor Admiral, according to and in the manner aforesaid: the said Bachelor de Mirueña, Gaspar de la Misericordia, inhabitants of the said city of Valladolid and Bartolomé de Fresco and Alvar Perez and Juan Despinosa and Andrea and Fernando de Vargas and Francisco Manuel and Fernan Martinez, servants of the said Señor Admiral. And I, the said Pedro de Hinojedo, clerk and notary public aforesaid, together with the said witnesses, to all the aforesaid I was present. And therefore I put here this my notarial mark as such: in testimony of the truth—Pedro de Hinojedo, clerk.



THE BULL OF DEMARCATION OF ALEXANDER VI.

From the Magnum Bullarium Romanum.

Vol. V, pp. 360 ff.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando regi et carissimæ in Christo filiæ Elizabeth reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, Sici-liæ et Granatæ illustribus salutem et apostolicam benedic-tionem.

Inter caetera divinæ Maiestati beneplacita opera et cor-dis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum exstitit, ut fides catholica et christiana religio, nostris præsertim temporibus, exaltetur ac ubilibet ampliatur; animarum-que salus procuretur, ac barbaricæ nationes deprimantur, et ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc sacram Petri Sedem divina favente clementia (meritis licet impari-bus) evecti fuerimus, cognoscentes vos, tanquam veros cath-olicos reges et principes, quales semper fuisse novimus ut a vobis præclare gesta toti pene iam orbi notissima demons-trant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio et diligen-tia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo, efficere; ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc iamdu-dum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio regni Grana-tæ a tyrannide Saracenorum, hodiernis temporibus per vos cum tanta divini nominis gloria facta, testatur, digne duci-mus non immerito, et debemus illa vobis etiam sponte et favorabiliter concedere, per quæ huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile ab immortali Deo coeptum propositum in dies ferventiori animo, ad ipsius Dei honorem et imperii chris-tiani propagationem, prosecui valeatis.

§ I. Sane accepimus quod vos iamdudum animo pro-posueratis aliquas insulas et terras firmas remotas et incogni-tas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas quaerere et invenire, ut illarum incolas et habitantes ad colendum Redemptorem nos-

BULL OF DONATION OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Alexander, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God: To our dearly beloved Son in Christ Ferdinand, King, and to our dearly beloved Daughter, Isabella, Queen of Castile, Legion, Aragon, Sicilie, and Granada, most illustrious Princes; Health and Apostolic benediction.

Among other works pleasing to the Divine Majesty, and for which our heart most longs, this is the chief, that the Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in our day may, in all places, be exalted, amplified and enlarged, whereby the Salvation of souls may be attained and barbarous nations subdued and brought to the faith. Therefore, whereas by the favor of the Divine clemency (though not with equal merit) we were called to the holy see of Peter, and knowing you to be always true Catholic princes, and as your worthy and noble actions have declared in a manner to the whole world, in that with all your study, diligence and industry, you have spared no pains, expense, nor dangers, risking even the shedding of blood, with applying your whole minds and endeavors hereunto, as your noble expeditions accomplished in rescuing the kingdoms of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens, in these our days do declare your actions to be to the glory of the Divine Name. For the which, as we deem you worthy, so ought we, spontaneously to grant all things whereby you may daily, with more fervent minds, to the honor of God, and enlarging the Christian empire, carry out your devout and laudable purpose most acceptable to the immortal God. We are credibly informed that whereas of late you were determined to seek out and find certain islands and mainlands far remote and unknown, and not heretofore discovered by any other, with the purpose of bringing the inhabitants of the same to honor our Redeemer and to profess the Catholic faith, you have hitherto been much occupied

trum, et fidem catholicam profitendum reduceretis; hac-
tenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipsius regni Granatæ
plurimum occupati, huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile propo-
situm vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis; sed
tandem Domino placuit, regno prædicto recuperato, volentes
desiderium adimplere vestrum, delectum filium Christo-
phorum Columbum, virum utique dignum et plurimum
commendandum ac tanto negotio aptum, cum navibus et
hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis labori-
bus et periculis ac expensis destinatis, ut terras firmas et
insulas remotas et incognitas huiusmodi, per mare ubi hac-
tenus navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret.

§ 2 Qui tandem, divino auxilio, facta extrema diligentia,
in mare oceano navigantes, certas insulas remotissimas et
etiam terras firmas quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fu-
erant, invenerunt, in quibus quam plurimæ gentis pacifice
viventes et, ut asseritur, nudæ incedentes, nec carnibus vesen-
tes inhabitant, et, ut præfati nuncii vestri possunt opinari
gentes ipsæ in insulis et terris prædictis habitantes credunt
unum Deum creatorem in cælis esse ac ad fidem Catholicam
amplexandum et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti viden-
tur; spesque habetis, quod, si erudirentur, nomen Salvatoris
Domini nostri Jesu Christi in terris et insulis prædictis fater-
etur; ac præfatus Christophorus ex una ex principalibus
insulis prædictis, iam unam turrinam satis munitam, in qua
certos christianos qui secum iverant, in custodiam et ut alias
insulas et terras firmas remotas et incognitas inquirerent,
posuit, construi et ædificari fecit.

§ 3. In quibus quidem insulis et terris iam repertis aurum,
aromata, et aliæ quam plurimæ res pretiosæ diversi generis et
diversæ qualitatis reperiuntur.

§ 4. Unde omnibus diligenter et præsertim fidei catholi-
cæ exaltatione et dilatatione (prout decet catholicos reges et
principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum claræ
memoriæ regum, terras firmas et insulas prædictas, illarum-
que incolas et habitatores vobis divina favente clementia sub-
iicere et ad fidem catholicam reducere promisistis.

in the redemption and recovery of the kingdom of Granada, by reason of which you could not bring your said laudable purpose to the desired end. Nevertheless, as it has pleased Almighty God, the aforesaid kingdom being recovered, willing to accomplish your said desire, you have not, without great labor, perils and expenses, appointed our well beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man, surely well recommended and apt for so great a matter, well furnished with ships and other necessities, to seek, by sea, where until now, no man hath sailed, such mainlands and islands far remote, and hitherto unknown. Who, by God's help, making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, hath found certain remote islands and mainlands which were not hitherto found by another. In which, it is affirmed, many nations inhabit, living peaceably, going naked and not accustomed to eating flesh. And, so far as your messengers can ascertain, the nations inhabiting the aforesaid lands and islands believe in one God Creator in heaven, and seem capable of being brought to embrace the Catholic faith, and to be taught good manners. By reason whereof we may hope that if they be well instructed, they may readily be induced to receive the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We are further informed that the aforesaid Christopher has now built and erected a fortress with good munition on one of the aforesaid principal islands, in which he has placed a garrison of certain of the Christians who went thither with him; as well with the intent to defend the same, as also to search other mainlands far remote and yet unknown. We also understand that in these lands and islands lately discovered, there is plenty of gold and spices, with divers and many other precious things of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore, all things diligently considered, especially the amplyfying and extending of the Catholic faith, as it becomes Catholic Princes (following the example of four noble progenitors of happy memory) whereas you are determined by the favor of Almighty God to subdue and bring to the Catholic faith the inhabitants of the aforesaid lands and islands.

§ 5. Nos igitur huiusmodi vestrum sanctum et laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipsum nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quam plurimum in Domino, et per sacri lavaeri susceptionem qua mandatis apostolicis obligati estis, et viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, attente requirimus ut cum expeditionem huiusmodi omnino prosequi et assumere probamente, orthodoxæ fidei zelo, intendatis, populos in huiusmodi insulis et terris degentes ad christianam religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis et debeatis; nec pericula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur.

§ 6. Et ut tanti negoti provinciam, apostolicæ gratæ largitate donati, liberior et audacius assumatis, motu proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hoc nobis oblata petitionis instantiam, * sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia ac de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et construendo unam lineam a polo arctico, scilicet septentrione, ad polum antarcticum, scilicet meridiem, sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et invenienda sint, versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur *de los Azores y Cabo Verde*, centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem, ita quod omnes insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et reperiendæ, detectæ et detegendæ a præfata linea versus occidentem at meridiem per alium regem aut principem christianum, non fuerint actualiter possessæ usque ad diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi proxime præteritum a quo incipit annus præsens, millesimus quadringentesimus nonagesimus tertius, quando fuerunt per nuntios et capitaneos vestros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum insularum * * auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac vicariatus Jesu Christi, qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, civitati-

We, greatly commending your holy and laudable purpose in Our Lord, and anxious to have the same brought to a successful end, and the name of our Saviour to be known in these parts, do exhort you in Our Lord, and by the receiving of your holy Baptism whereby you are bound to Apostolical obedience, and earnestly require you by the bowels of mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that, when you intend, for the zeal of the Catholic faith, to prosecute the said expedition to lead the people of the aforesaid lands and islands to the Christian religion, you shall spare no labors at any time, nor be deterred by any perils, convinced of a firm hope and confidence that the Omnipotent God will give good success to your holy efforts. And that being authorized by the privilege of the Apostolic grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the enterprise of so great a matter, we of our own motion, and not at either your request or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our own mere liberality and certain knowledge and by the fullness of Apostolic power, do give, grant and assign to you, your heirs and successors, all the mainlands and islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered toward the West and South, drawing a line from the Arctic or North pole, to the Antarctic or South pole; containing in this donation whatsoever mainlands or islands are found toward India or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the aforesaid line drawn a hundred leagues towards the West and South from any of the islands which are commonly called *de los Azores* and *Cubo Verde*.

All the islands and mainlands, therefore, found or to be found, discovered and to be discovered from the said line towards the West and South, such as have not actually been heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or prince until the day of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present year being the year of Our Lord M, CCC, lxxxiii, whensoever any such shall be found by your messengers and captains, we, by the authority of Almighty God granted

bus, castris, locis et villis iuribusque et iurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis universis, vobis hæredibusque et successoribus vestris (Castellæ et Legionis regibus) in perpetuum tenore præsentium, donamus et assignamus; vosque et hæredes et successores præfatos illarum dominos cum plena, libera et omnimoda potestate, auctoritate et iurisdictione facimus, constituimus et deputamus.

§ 7 Decernentes nihilominus per huiusmodi donationem, concessionem, et assignationem nostram nulli christiano principi, qui actualiter præfatas insulas et terras firmas possederit usque ad dictum diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ius quæsitum sublatum intelligi posse aut auferri debere. Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ (sicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et insulas prædictas viros probos et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendum incolas et habitatores in fide catholica, et bonis moribus imbuendum destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes.

§ 8 Ac quibuscumque personis, cuiuscumque dignitatis, etiam imperialis et regalis status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna, quam eo ipso, si contra fecerint, districtius * * * inhibemus ne ad insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et construendo lineam a polo arctico ad polum antarcticum, sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam, aut versus aliquam quancumque partem, quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur *de los Azores y Cabo Verde*, centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem, ut præfertur, * * * pro mercibus habendis vel quavis alia de causa accedere præsumant absque vestra ac hæredum et successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali.

§ 9. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. In

unto us in blessed Peter, and by the office which we bear on earth as Vicar of Jesus Christ, do for ever, by the tenor of these presents, give, grant and assign unto you, your heirs and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all these lands and islands, with these dominions, territories, cities, castles, towers, places and villages, with all the right and jurisdiction thereto pertaining: constituting, assigning and deputing you, your heirs and successors the lords thereof, with full and free power, authority and jurisdiction. Decreeing, nevertheless, by this, our donation, grant, and assignation, that from no Christian prince which actually hath possessed the aforesaid islands and mainlands unto the day of the Nativity of Our Lord before said, their right obtained, to be understood to be hereby taken away, or that it ought to be taken away.

Furthermore we command you, in virtue of holy obedience (as you have promised and as we doubt not you will do out of pure devotion and royal magnanimity) to send to the said mainlands and islands, honest virtuous and learned men, such as fear God, and are able to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholick faith and good manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premises.

We furthermore strictly inhibit all manner of persons, of what state degree, order or condition soever they be, although of imperial or regal dignity, under sentence of excommunication which they shall incur if they do to the contrary, that they in no case presume without special license of you, your heirs and successors, to travel for merchandise or for any other cause, to the said lands or islands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a line from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole, whether the mainlands and islands found and to be found, be situated toward India or toward any other part, being distant from the line drawn a hundred leagues toward the West from any lands commonly called "*de los Azores*" and "*Cabo Verde*." Notwithstanding constitutions, decrees and Apostolic ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary, in Him from

Illo a quo imperia et dominationes ac bona cuncta procedunt confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros si huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore cum felicitate et gloria totius populi christiani, vestri labores et conatus exitum felicissimum consequentur,

Verum, quia difficile foret, etc.

Nulli ergo etc.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, anno Incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio quarto nonas Maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Dat. die 4 Maii, 1493, pontif. anno I.

The Bull *Inter Cætera*, however, as given above was not the first Bull drafted and issued by the Pope in reference to lands newly discovered by Columbus. On the previous day (May 3d, 1493,) he had published a Bull, the text of which for the greater part agrees with that of the Bull *Inter Cætera*. But it differs from the latter in its most vital passages, *i. e.*, those laying down the line of demarcation, that was to separate the possessions of the King of Portugal from those of the Spanish Sovereigns. We shall indicate the omissions and insertions by referring to the Bull *Inter Cætera* printed above. The copy of the Bull of May 3d, is preserved in Royal Archives at Jamaica, and printed in Navarrete's *Collección*, Vol. II. p. 23 et seq.

Instead of the words "*sed de nostra mera*" until "*auctoritate omnipotentis*," indicated in our reprint by stars, the Bull of May 3d has:

* Sed de nostra mera liberalitate, et ex scientia ac de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes et singulas terras et insulas prædictas, sic incognitas, et hactenus per nuntios vestros repertas et reperiendas in posterum, quæ sub dominio actuali temporali aliquorum dominorum Christianorum Constitutæ non sint, etc.

whom Empires, dominions and all good things do proceed. Confident that God directing your undertakings, if you follow your holy and laudable efforts, your labors and endeavors shall, in a short time obtain a happy end with happiness and glory to all Christian people. But, forasmuch as it should be a matter of great difficulty for these letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient, we will, and of like motion and knowledge, do decree that whithersoever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received with the subscription of a common notary thereunto required, with the seal of any person constitute in ecclesiastical dignity, or such as are authorized by the ecclesiastical court, the same faith and credit to be given thereunto in judgment or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these presents.

It shall therefore be lawful for no man to infringe or rashly to disregard this letter of our commendation, exhortation, request, donation, grant, assignation, constitution, deputation, decree, commandment, inhibition and determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same, he must know that he shall thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and His holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord M. CCCC, LXXXIII. The fourth day of the nones of May, and the first year of our Pontificate.

The Bull of May 3d omits the words from *inhibemus* to '*ut profertur*' and substitutes the following:

* * Inhibemus ne ad insulas et terras prædictas postquam per vestros nuntios seu ad id missos inventæ et receptæ fuerint, etc.

Between § 8 and § 9 of the Bull *Inter Cætera* the earlier Bull inserted the words:

* * * Et quia etiam nonnulli Portugalliæ Reges in partibus Africae, Guineæ et Meneræ Auri alias insulas similiter etiam ex concessione Apostolica eis facta reppererunt et acquisiverunt et per sedem apostolicam eis diuersa privilegia, gratiæ, libertates, immunitates, exentiones et indulta concessa fuerunt, Nos vobis ac hæredibus et subcesoribus vestris prædictis ut insulis et terris per vos repertis, et reperendis hujus modi omnibus et singulis gratiis, privilegiis, exentionibus, libertatibus, facultatibus, immunitatibus et indultis hujusmodi, quorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum præsentibus insererentur, haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis, ubi potiri et gaudere libere et licite possitis ac debeatis, in omnibus et per omnia, perinde ac si vobis ac hæredibus et subcesoribus prædictis specialiter concessa fuissent, motu, auctoritate, scientia, et Apostolica Potestatis plenitudine similibus de specialis dono gratiæ indulgemus, illaque in omnibus et per omnia ad vos, hæredes ac subcesores vestros prædictos extendimus pariter et ampliamus; etc.

THREE BRIEFS OF POPE JULIUS II IN FAVOR OF THE COLUMBUS FAMILY.¹

I.

*Carissimo in xpo filio nostro ferdinando Aragonum et
Cecilie Regi Catholico.*

Carissime in xpo fili noster Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem proficiscens ad Maiestatem tuam dilectus filius Bartholomeus colori (sic) germanus Cristofori colori qui annis superioribus repperit illas insulas in Indie partibus cum nos cum Intellegereimus cum tue Maiestatis esse seruitorem ut diu in illis Insulis commoratum libenter vidimus et audiui-
mus et certe cum xpiane reipublice in earum Insularum Inuentione tantum profuerint digni videntur omni fauore et protectione. Quare ipsum Bartholomeum et eius fratris dictorum Insularum admiratum Maiestati tue in eorum negotiis non vulgariter commendamus, datum etc.

II.

Carissime in xpo fili noster Salutem etc. Cum esset in itinere ad Maiestatem tuam Veniendi dilectus filius Bartholomeus Colum (sic) germanus xpofoi Colon qui annis superioribus repperit facere tentauerat vnde non solum auri et margaritarum ac aromatum et aliorum mercimoniorum habundantissima coppia verum etiam innumerabiles Anime aqua salutaris ablute ed Abluende religioni xpiane et Chatholice fidei acquisite sunt et acquiri deo propitio sperantur. Et propterea postquam nonnullae ex insulis predictis reperte et exinde aliqua mercimonia in hispaniam portata fuerunt, Rex et Regina prefati tamquam Catholici et Religionem xpianam. huiusmodi augere desiderantes ut Idem Cristoforus tam sanctam prouintiam Inceptam libentius prosequeretur pacta conditiones et Capitulationes per eos cum eodem xpofero factas confirmarent et approbarent

¹ From M. A. Lazzaroni's *Cristoforo Colombo*, Vol II, p 385 et seq.

eique suas patentes priuilegiorum litteras desuper concesserunt. Cumque postquam eadem helisabeth Regina uti placuit altissimo ab hac luce migrauerat Idem Ferdinandus Rex volens suam et eiusdem Regine conscentias exonere ac pacta et conuentiones cum eodem xpofero habita et privilegia ei concessa adimpleri facere tibi qui vni ex executoribus per eandem Reginam in suo testamento relictis existis huiusmodi causam siue negotium duxit committendum quamquidem commissionem postquam Idem xpoferus ab hac luce decessit Clare memorie Philippus tunc hispaniarum Rex in humanis agens ad instantiam dilecti filij nobilis viri didaci etiam Colon Archimarini Insularum terrarum et marium predictorum eiusdem xpoferi primogeniti et successoris duxit innouandum nos igitur fidei propagationem vti ex debito nostri pastoralis officii tenemur plurimum affectantes fraternitatem tuam que vti religiosa et hispaniarum primas augmento religionis xpiane Insistere ad idque animum ac vires tuas ponere non cessas exhortamur in domino quatenus prouintiam istam sanctissimam non minus quam fructuosam pro illas insulas Indie maioribus nostris Ignotas diuenit ad nos pedes nostros osculaturus quem quia in illis insulis diu versatus est benigne vidimus atque audiuimus. Commendatione quoque nostra volumus prosequi multum enim in dictarum Insularum Inuentione reipublice xpiane profuisse videntur. Quare Maiestatem tuam que Catholice fidei semper quesuiit atque optauit hortamur ut ipsum Bartholomeum et eius fratris filium dictarum Insularum admiratum licet eam sponte sua id facturum putemus commendatissimos habeat.

Datum Rome die x Aprilis 1507, anno quarto.

III.

*Venerabili fratri francisco Archiepiscopo Toletano.*¹

Venerabilis frater Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem ex relatione dilecti filij nobilis viri Bartholomei Colon

¹ Archiv. Vat. *Julii II*, Brev., IV., tom IV., XXXIX, 25 fol, 296, v 297, r.

Insularum et continentium terrarum et marium orientalium prefecti Adelantado nuncupati percepimus quod olim quondam Cristoforus Colon Archimarinus Insularum Terrarum et Marium predictorum eius frater Carnalis tunc in humanis agens de Commissione et mandato Carissimi in xpo filij nostri ferdinandi Regis et tunc in humanis agentis helisabeth Regine hyspaniarum Catholicorum et cum eorum Classe precedentibus nonnullis pactis, et capitulationibus, per maiestates suas cum eodem Cristoforo adhibitis et factis Insulas predictas non sine magnis periculis discrimine laboribus et expensis aggressus extitit quam nauigationem ut ex annalibus sine hystoriis etiam antiquissimis elici potest nullus vnquam hominum eatenus sequaris dictumque didacum et alii ad similia aggrediendi uti nostris temporibus prouidentia diuina gubernante videre speramus libencius Innitemur et Innitentur adiuues faueas ac protegas et non solum pacta condiciones et privilegia predicta obseruari sed amplioribus eum muneribus et honoribus decorari facias prout te facere posse non dubitamus. In qua rem nobis et Cunctis principibus xpianis gratissimam ac ecclesie Vniuersali et Catholice fidei vtilissimam efficies. Datum Rome Apud Sanctumpetrum Sub Annulo piscatoris die decimanona mensis Aprilis millesimo quingentesimo Septimo Anno quarto.²

² Archiv. Vat. *Julii II*, Brev. tom, IV., XXXIX, 25 fol, 312 v, 313, v.

THIRD VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.*

LETTER OF THE ADMIRAL TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.¹

Most serene and most exalted and powerful Princes, the King and Queen, our Sovereigns: The Blessed Trinity moved your Highnesses to the encouragement of this enterprise to the Indies, and of its infinite goodness has made me your messenger therein; as ambassador for which undertaking I approached your royal presence, moved by the consideration that I was appealing to the most exalted monarchs in Christendom, who exercised so great an influence over the Christian faith and its advancement in the world; those who heard of it looked upon it as impossible, for they fixed all their hopes on the favors of fortune, and pinned their faith solely upon chance. I gave to the subject six or seven years of great anxiety,² explaining, to the best of my ability, how great service might be done to our Lord by this undertaking in promulgating His sacred name and our holy faith among so many nations—an enterprise so exalted in itself, and so calculated to enhance the glory and immortalize the renown of the greatest sovereigns. It was also requisite to refer to the temporal prosperity which was foretold in the writings of so many trustworthy and wise historians, who related that great riches were to be found in these parts. And at the same time I thought it desirable to bring to bear upon the subject the sayings and opinions of those who have written upon the geography of the world. And, finally your Highnesses came to the determination that the undertaking should be entered upon. In this your Highnesses exhibited the noble spirit which has been always manifested by you on every

* NOTE—This letter should have been inserted on page 215, but, having been overlooked, it is inserted here, so as to make the Admiral's Narrative complete.

1 This translation is by H. R. Major. The original text is in Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viajes*. Madrid, 1825.

2 Columbus first applied to Spain in 1485.

subject; for all others who had thought of the matter, or heard it spoken of, unanimously treated it with contempt, with the exception of two friars,³ who always remained constant in their belief of its practicability. I, myself, in spite of fatiguing opposition, felt sure that the enterprise would, nevertheless, prosper, and continue equally confident of it to this day, because it is a truth that, though everything will pass away, the word of God will not; and I believe that every prospect which I hold out will be accomplished; for it was clearly predicted concerning these lands, by the mouth of the prophet Isaias, in many places in Scripture, that from Spain the holy name of God was to be spread abroad. Thus I departed in the name of the Holy Trinity, and returned very soon, bringing with me an account of the practical fulfilment of everything I had said. Your Highnesses again sent me out, and in a short space of time, by God's mercy, not by⁴ I discovered three hundred and thirty-three leagues of terra firma on the eastern side,⁵ and seven hundred islands, besides those which I discovered on the first voyage; I also succeeded in circumnavigating the island of Española, which is larger in circumference than all Spain, the inhabitants of which are countless, and all of whom may be laid under tribute. It was then that complaints arose, disparaging the enterprise that I had undertaken, because, forsooth, I had not immediately sent the ships home laden with gold—no allowance being made for the shortness of the time, and all the other impediments of which I have already spoken. On this account (either as a punishment of my sins, or, as I trust, for my salvation) I was held in detestation, and had obstacles placed in the way of everything I said, or for which I petitioned. I therefore resolved to apply to your Highnesses, to inform you of all the wonderful events that

3 Fray Juan Perez de Marchena, a Franciscan, Guardian of the Convent of de la Rabida, and Fray Diego de Deza, a Dominican.

4 A blank occurs in the MS.

5 Columbus here confused the island of Cuba with the main coast, which he did not see till the present voyage.

I had experienced, and to explain the reason of every proposition that I made, making reference to the nations that I had seen, among whom, and by whose instrumentality, many souls may be saved. I related how the natives of Española had been laid under tribute to your Highnesses, and regarded you as their sovereigns. And I laid before your Highnesses abundant samples of gold and copper—proving the existence of extensive mines of those metals. I also laid before your Highnesses many sorts of spices, too numerous to detail; and I spoke of the great quantity of brazil-wood, and numberless other articles found in those lands. All this was of no avail with some persons, who began, with determined hatred, to speak ill of the enterprise, not taking into account the service done to our Lord in the salvation of so many souls, nor the enhancement of your Highnesses greatness to a higher pitch than any earthly prince has yet enjoyed; nor considering that, from the exercise of your Highnesses' goodness, and the expense incurred, both spiritual and temporal advantage was to be expected, and that Spain must in the process of time derive from thence, beyond all doubt, an unspeakable increase of wealth. This might be manifestly seen by the evidences already given in writing in the descriptions of the voyages already made, which also prove that the fulfilment of every other hope may be reasonably expected. Nor were they affected by the consideration of what great princes throughout the world have done to increase their fame: as, for example, Solomon, who sent from Jerusalem to the uttermost parts of the east, to see Mount Sopora, in which expedition his ships were detained three years; and which mountain your Highnesses now possess in the island of Española. Nor, as in the case of Alexander, who sent to observe the mode of government in the island of Taprobana, in India; and Caesar Nero, to explore the sources of the Nile, and to learn the causes of its increase in the spring, when water is needed; and many other mighty deeds that princes have done, and which it is allotted to princes to achieve. Nor was it of any avail that no prince

of Spain, as far as I have read, has ever hitherto gained possession of land out of Spain; and that the world of which I speak is different from that in which the Romans and Alexander, and the Greeks made mighty efforts with great armies to gain possession of. Nor have they been affected by the recent noble example of the kings of Portugal, who have had the courage to explore as far as Guinea, and to make the discovery of it, expending so much gold and so many lives in the undertaking that a calculation of the population of the kingdom would show that one-half of them have died in Guinea: and though it is now a long time since they commenced these great exertions, the return for their labor and expense has hitherto been but trifling; this people has also dared to make conquests in Africa, and to carry on their exploits to Ceuta, Tangier, and Alcazar, repeatedly giving battle to the Moors, and all this at great expense, simply because it was an exploit worthy of a prince, undertaken for the service of God and to advance the enlargement of His kingdom. The more I said on the subject the more two-fold was reproach cast upon it, even to the expression of abhorrence, no consideration being given to the honor and fame that accrued to your Highnesses' throughout all Christendom, from your Highnesses having undertaken this enterprise; so that there was neither great nor small who did not desire to hear tidings of it. Your Highnesses replied to me encouragingly, and desired that I should pay no regard to those who spoke ill of the undertaking, inasmuch as they had received no authority or countenance whatever from your Highnesses.

I started from San Lucar, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, on Wednesday, the 30th of May, much fatigued with my voyage, for I had hoped, when I left the Indies, to find repose in Spain; whereas, on the contrary, I experienced nothing but opposition and vexation. I sailed to the island of Madeira by a circuitous route, in order to avoid any encounter with an armed fleet from France, which was on the lookout for me off Cape Saint Vincent. Thence I went to the Canaries, from which islands I sailed

with but one ship and two caravels, having dispatched the other ships to Española by the direct road to the Indies; while I myself moved southward, with the view of reaching the equinoctial line, and of then proceeding westward, so as to leave the island of Española to the north. But having reached the Cape Verd Islands (an incorrect name, for they are so barren that nothing green was to be seen there, and the people so sickly that I did not venture to remain among them,) I sailed away four hundred and eighty miles, which is equivalent to a hundred and twenty leagues, toward the southwest, where, when it grew dark, I found the north star to be in the fifth degree. The wind then failed me, and I entered a climate where the intensity of the heat was such that I thought both ships and men would have been burned up, and everything suddenly got into such a state of confusion that no man dared go below deck to attend to the securing of the water-cask and the provisions. This heat lasted eight days; on the first day the weather was fine, but on the seven other days it rained and was cloudy yet we found no alleviation of our distress; so that I certainly believe that if the sun had shone as on the first day, we should not have been able to escape in any way.

I recollect that, in sailing toward the Indies, as soon as I passed a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, I found the temperature change; and this is so all along from north to south. I determined, therefore, if it should please the Lord to give me a favorable wind and good weather, so that I might leave the part where I then was, that I would give up pursuing the southward course, yet not turn backward, but sail toward the west, moving in that direction in the hope of finding the same temperature that I had experienced when I sailed in the parallel of the Canaries, and then, if it proved so, I should still be able to proceed more to the south. At the end of these eight days it pleased our Lord to give me a favorable east wind, and I steered to the west but did not venture to move lower down toward the south, because I discovered

a very great change in the sky and the stars, although I found no alteration in the temperature. I resolved, therefore, to keep on the direct westward course, in a line from Sierra Leone, and not to change on another tack, which I was very desirous to do, for the purpose of repairing the vessels, and of renewing, if possible, our stock of provisions, and taking in what water we wanted. At the end of seventeen days, during which our Lord gave me a propitious wind, we saw land at noon, of Tuesday, the 31st of July. This I had expected on the Monday before, and held that route up to this point; but as the sun's strength increased, and our supply of water was failing, I resolved to make for the Caribee Islands, and set sail in that direction; when, by the mercy of God, which He has always extended to me, one of the sailors⁶ went up to the maintop, and saw to the westward a range of three mountains. Upon this we repeated the "Salve Regina," and other prayers, and all of us gave many thanks to our Lord. I then gave up our northward course, and put in for the land: at the hour of complines we reached a cape, which I called Cape Galea,⁷ having already given to the island the name of Trinidad, and here we found a harbor, which would have been excellent, but there was no good anchorage. We saw houses and people on the spot, and the country was very beautiful, and as fresh and green as the gardens of Valencia in the month of March. I was disappointed at not being able to put into the harbor, and ran along the coast to the westward. After sailing five leagues I found very good bottom, and anchored. The next day I set sail in the same direction, in search of a harbor where I might repair the vessels and take in water, as well as improve the stock of provisions which I had brought out with me. When we had taken in a pipe of water, we proceeded onward till we reached the cape, and there, finding good anchorage and protection

⁶ Navarrete states that this was a servant of Columbus named Alonzo Perez.

⁷ Cape Galeota, the southeastern point of Trinidad. It was now that Columbus first saw the main coast of America.

from the east wind, I ordered the anchors to be dropped, the water-cask to be repaired, a supply of water and wood to be taken in, and the people to rest themselves from the fatigues which they had endured for so long a time. I gave to this point the name of Sandy Point (*Punta del Arenal*.) All the ground in the neighborhood was filled with foot-marks of animals, like the impression of the foot of a goat; but although it would have appeared from this circumstance that they were very numerous, only one was seen, and that was dead. On the following day a large canoe came from the eastward, containing twenty-four men, all in the prime of life, and well provided with arms, such as bows, arrows, and wooden shields; they were all, as I have said, young well proportioned, and not dark black, but whiter than any other Indians that I had seen, of very graceful gesture, and handsome forms, wearing their hair long and straight, and cut in the Spanish style. Their heads were bound round with cotton scarfs elaborately worked in colors, which resembled the Moorish head-dresses. Some of these scarfs were worn round the body and used as a covering in lieu of trousers. The natives spoke to us from the canoe while it was yet at a considerable distance, but none of us could understand them; I made signs to them, however, to come nearer to us, and more than two hours were spent in this manner; but if by any chance they moved a little nearer, they soon pushed off again. I caused basins and other shining objects to be shown to them to tempt them to come near; and after a long time they came somewhat nearer than they had hitherto done, upon which, as I was anxious to speak with them, and had nothing else to show them to induce them to approach, I ordered a drum to be played upon the quarter-deck, and some of our young men to dance, believing the Indians would come to see the amusement. No sooner, however, did they perceive the beating of the drum and the dancing, than they all left their oars, and strung their bows, and each man laying hold of his shield, they commenced discharging their arrows at us; upon this, the music and dancing soon ceased, and I ordered a charge to be

made from some of our crossbows; they then left us, and went rapidly to the other caravel, and placed themselves under its poop. The pilot of that vessel received them courteously, and gave to the man who appeared to be their chief a coat and hat; and it was then arranged between them that he should go to speak with him on shore. Upon this the Indians immediately went thither and waited for him; but as he would not go without my permission, he came to my ship in the boat, whereupon the Indians got into their canoe again and went away, and I never saw any more of them or of any of the other inhabitants of the island. When I reached the point of Arenal, I found that the island of Trinidad formed with the land of Gracia a strait of two leagues' width from east to west,⁸ and as we had to pass through it to go to the north, we found some strong currents which crossed the strait, and which made a great roaring, so that I concluded there must be a reef of sand or rocks, which would preclude our entrance; and behind this current was another and another, all making a roaring noise like the sound of breakers against the rocks. I anchored there, under the said point of Arenal, outside of the strait, and found the water rush from east to west with as much impetuosity as that of the Guadalquivir at its conflux with the sea; and this continued constantly day and night, so that it appeared to be impossible to move backward for the current or forward for the shoals. In the dead of night, while I was on deck, I heard an awful roaring that came from the south, toward the ship; I stopped to observe what it might be, and I saw the sea rolling from west to east like a mountain, as high as the ship, and approaching by little and little; on the top of this rolling sea came a mighty wave roaring with a frightful noise, and with all this terrific uproar were other conflicting currents, producing, as I have already said, a sound as of breakers upon the rocks. To this day I have a vivid recollection of the dread I then felt, lest the ship might founder under the force of that tre-

8 This was the Gulf of Paria, and the currents were occasioned by the river Orinoco, which empties into it.

mendous sea; but it passed by, and reached the mouth of the beforementioned passage, where the uproar lasted for a considerable time. On the following day I sent out boats to take soundings, and found that in the strait, at the deepest part of the embouchure, there were six or seven fathoms of water, and that there were constant contrary currents, one running inward, and the other outward. It pleased the Lord, however, to give us a favorable wind, and I passed through the middle of the strait, after which I recovered my tranquillity. The men happened at this time to draw up some water from the sea, which, strange to say, proved to be fresh. I then sailed northward till I came to a very high mountain, at about twenty-six leagues from the Punta del Arenal; here two lofty headlands appeared, one toward the east, and forming part of the island of Trinidad, and the other, on the west, being part of the land which I have already called Gracia; we found here a channel still narrower than that of Arenal, with similar currents, and a tremendous roaring of water; the water here also was fresh. Hitherto I had held no communication with any of the people of this country, although I very earnestly desired it; I therefore sailed along the coast westward, and the further I advanced, the fresher and more wholesome I found the water; and when I had proceeded a considerable distance, I reached a spot where the land appeared to be cultivated. There I anchored, and sent the boats ashore, and the men who went in them found the natives had already left the place; they also observed that the mountain was covered with monkeys. They came back, and as the coast at that part presented nothing but a chain of mountains, I concluded that further west we should find the land flatter, and consequently in all probability inhabited. Auctuated by this thought I weighed anchor, and ran along the coast until we came to the end of the cordillera; I then anchored at the mouth of a river, and we were soon visited by a great number of the inhabitants, who informed us that the country was called Paria, and that further westward it was more fully peopled. I took four of these natives, and proceeded on my westward voyage, and when I had gone

eight leagues further, I found on the other side of a point which I called the Needle, one of the most lovely countries in the world, and very thickly peopled; it was three o'clock in the morning when I reached it, and seeing its verdure and beauty, I resolved to anchor there and communicate with the inhabitants. Some of the natives soon came out to the ship, in canoes, to beg me, in the name of their King, to go on shore; and when they saw that I paid no attention to them, they came to the ship in their canoes in countless numbers, many of them wearing pieces of gold on their breasts, and some with bracelets of pearls on their arms; on seeing which I was much delighted, and made many inquiries, with the view of learning where they found them. They informed me that they were to be procured in their own neighborhood, and also at a spot to the northward of that place. I would have remained here, but the provisionn of corn, and wine, and meats, which I had brought out with so much care for the people whom I had left behind, were nearly wasted so that all my anxiety was to get them into a place of safety, and not to stop for anything. I wished, however, to get some of the pearls that I had seen, and with that view sent the boats on shore. The natives are very numerous, and for the most part handsome in person, and of the same color as the Indians we had already seen; they are, moreover, very tractable, and received our men who went on shore most courteously, seeming very well disposed toward us. These men relate, that when the boats reached shore, two of the chiefs, whom they took to be father and son, came forward in advance of the mass of the people, and conducted them to a very large house with facades, and not round and tent-shaped as the other houses were; in this house were many seats, on which they made our men sit down, they themselves sitting on other seats. They then caused bread to be brought, with many kinds of fruits, and various sorts of wine, both white and red, not made of grapes, but apparently produced from different fruits. The most reasonable inference is, that they use maize, which is a plant that bears a spine like an ear of wheat, some of which I took

with me from Spain, where it grows abundantly; this they seem to regard as most excellent, and set a great value upon it. The men remained together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. Great vexation was felt by both parties that they could not understand each other, for they were mutually anxious to make inquiries respecting each other's country. After our men had been entertained at the house of the elder Indian, the younger took them to his house, and gave them an equally cordial reception, after which they returned to their boats and came on board. I weighed anchor forthwith, for I was hastened by my anxiety to save the provisions, which were becoming spoiled, and which I had procured and preserved with so much care and trouble, as well as to attend to my own health, which had been affected by long watching; and although on my former voyage, when I discovered terra firma, I passed thirty-three days without natural rest and was all that time deprived of sight, yet never were my eyes so much affected or so painful as at this period. These people, as I have already said, are very graceful in form—tall, and elegant in their movements, wearing their hair very long and smooth; they also bind their heads with handsome worked handkerchiefs, which, from a distance, look like silk or gauze; others use the same material in a longer form, wound round them so as to cover them like trousers, and this is done by both the men and the women. These people are of a whiter skin than any that I have seen in the Indies. It is the fashion among all classes to wear something at the breast, and on the arms, and many wear pieces of gold hanging low on the bosom. Their canoes are larger, lighter, and of better build than those of the islands which I have hitherto seen, and in the middle of each they have a cabin or room, which I found was occupied by the chiefs and their wives. I called this place "Jardines," that is, "the Gardens," for the place and the people correspond with that appellation. I made many inquiries as to where they found the gold, in reply to which, all of them directed me to an elevated tract of land at no great distance, on

the confines of their own country, lying to the westward; but they all advised me not to go there, for fear of being eaten, and at the time I imagined that by their description they wished to imply that they were cannibals who dwelt there, but I have since thought it possible that they meant merely to express that the country was filled with the beasts of prey. I also inquired of them where they obtained the pearls? and in reply to this question likewise, they directed me to the westward, and also to the north, behind the country they occupied. I did not put this information to the test, on account of the provisions, and the weakness of my eyes, and because the large ship that I had with me was not calculated for such an undertaking. The short time that I spent with them was all passed in putting questions; and at evening, as I have already said, we returned to the ships, upon which I weighed anchor and sailed to the westward. I proceeded onward on the following day, until I found that we were only in three fathoms water; at this time I was still under the idea that it was but an island, and that I should be able to make my exit by the north. Upon which I sent a light caravel in advance of us, to see whether the passage was closed; the caravel proceeded a great distance, until it reached a very large gulf in which there appeared to be four smaller gulfs, from one of which debouched a large river; they invariably found ground at five fathoms, and a great quantity of very fresh water; indeed, I never tasted any equal to it. I felt great anxiety when I found that I could make no exit, either by the north, south, or west, but that I was enclosed on all three sides by land; I therefore weighed anchor, and sailed in a backward direction, with the hope of finding a passage to the north by the strait, which I have already described; but I could not return along the inhabited part where I had already been, on account of the currents, which drove me entirely out of my course. But constantly, at every headland, I found the water sweet and clear, and we were carried eastward very powerfully toward the two straits already mentioned; I then conjectured that the currents and the overwhelming moun-

tains of water which rushed into these straits with such an awful roaring, arose from the contest between the fresh water and the sea. The fresh water struggled with the salt to oppose its entrance, and the salt contended against the fresh in its efforts to gain a passage outward. And I formed the conjecture, that at one time there was a continuous neck of land from the island of Trinidad and with the land of Gracia, where the two straits now are, as your Highnesses will see, by the drawing which accompanies this letter. I passed out by this northern strait, and found the fresh water came even there; and when, by the aid of the wind, I was enabled to proceed, I remarked, while on the watery billows which I have described, that in the channel the water on the inner side of the current was fresh, and on the outside salt.

When I sailed from Spain to the Indies I found that, as soon as I had passed a hundred leagues westward of the Azores, there was a very great change in the sky and the stars, in the temperature of the air, and in the water of the sea; and I have been very diligent in observing these things. I remarked that from north to south in traversing these hundred leagues from the said islands, the needle of the compass, which hitherto had turned toward the northeast, turned a full quarter of the wind to the northwest, and this took place from the time when we reached that line. At the same time an appearance was presented as if the seashore had been transplanted thither, for we found the sea covered all over with a sort of weed resembling pine branches, and with fruits like that of the mastic tree, so thick that on my first voyage I thought it was a reef, and that the ships could not avoid running aground; but until I reached this line I did not meet with a single bough. I also observed that at this point the sea was very smooth, and that, though the wind was rough, the ships never rolled. I likewise found that within the same line toward the west the temperature was always mild, and that it did not vary, summer or winter. While I was there I observed that the north star described a circle five degrees in diameter; that when its satellites are on the right side,

then the star was at its lowest point, and from this point it continues until it reaches the left side, where it is also at five degrees, and then again it sinks until it at length returns to the right side. In this voyage I proceeded immediately from Spain to the island of Madeira, thence to the Canaries, and then to the Cape Verd Isles, and from the Cape Verd Isles I sailed southward, even below the equinoctial line, as I have already described. When I reached the parallel of Sierra Leone, in Guinea, I found the heat so intense and the rays of the sun so fierce that I thought that we should have been burnt; and, although it rained, and the sky was heavy with clouds, I still suffered the same oppression until our Lord was pleased to grant me a favorable wind, giving me an opportunity of sailing to the west, so that I reached a latitude where I experienced, as I have already said, a change in the temperature. Immediately upon my reaching this line the temperature of the sky became very mild, and the more I advanced the more this mildness increased; but I did not find the positions of the stars correspond with these effects. I remarked at this place that when night came on the polar star was five degrees high, and then the satellites were overhead; afterward, at midnight, I found the north star elevated ten degrees, and when morning was advancing, the satellites were fifteen feet below. I found the smoothness of the sea continue, but not so the weeds; as to the polar star, I watched it with great wonder, and devoted many nights to a careful examination of it with the quadrant, and I always found that the lead and line fell to the same point. I look upon this as something new, and I think my opinion will be supported by that of others, and it is a short distance for so great a change to take place in the temperature. I have always read that the world, comprising the land and the water, was spherical, as is testified by the investigations of Ptolemy and others, who have proved it by the eclipses of the moon, and other observations made from east to west, as well as by the elevation of the pole from north to south. But I have now seen so much irreg-

ularity, as I have already described, that I have come to another conclusion respecting the earth, namely, that it is not round, as they describe, but of the form of a pear, which is very round except where the stalk grows, at which part it is most prominent; or like a round ball, upon one part of which is a prominence like a woman's nipple, this protrusion being the highest and nearest the sky, situated under the equinoctial line, and at the eastern extremity of this sea—I call that the eastern extremity, where the land and the islands end. In confirmation of my opinion I revert to the arguments which I have above detailed respecting the line, which passes from north to south a hundred leagues westward of the Azores; for in sailing thence westward the ships went on rising smoothly toward the sky, and then the weather was felt to be milder, on account of which mildness the needle shifted one point of the compass; the further we went the more the needle moved to the northwest, this elevation producing the variation of the circle which the north star describes with its satellites; and the nearer I approached the equinoctial line the more they rose, and the greater was the difference between these stars and their circles. Ptolemy and the other philosophers who have written upon the globe thought that it was spherical, believing that this hemisphere was round as well as that in which they themselves dwelt, the centre of which was in the island of Arin, which is under the equinoctial line between the Arabian Gulf and the Gulf of Persia; and the circle passes over Cape St. Vincent, in Portugal, westward and eastward, by Cangara and the Seras,⁹ in which hemisphere I make no difficulty as to its being a perfect sphere, as they describe; but this western half of the world, I maintain, is like the half of a very round pear, having a raised projection for the stalk, as I have already described, or like a woman's nipple on a round ball. Ptolemy and

⁹ Names for Japan and China, according to Major, but he evidently erred, for if this was so, Columbus must have reached the conclusion that he was not in the Indies, while he died firmly convinced that the lands were part of the East Indies.

the others who have written upon the globe had no information respecting this part of the world, which was then unexplored; they only established their arguments with respect to their own hemisphere, which, as I have already said, is half of a perfect sphere. And now that your Highnesses have commissioned me to make this voyage of discovery, the truths which I have stated are evidently proved, because in this voyage, when I was off the island of Hargin,¹⁰ and its vicinity, which is twenty degrees to the north of the equinoctial line, I found the people are black, and the land very much burnt; and when after that I went to the Cape Verd Islands, I found the people much darker still, and the more southward we went the more they approach the extreme of blackness; so that when I reached the parallel of Sierra Leone, where, as night came on, the north star rose five degrees, the people there were excessively black; and, as I sailed westward, the heat became extreme. But after I had passed the meridian line which I have already described, I found the climate became gradually more temperate, so that when I reached the island of Trinidad, where the north star rose five degrees as night came on, there and in the land of Gracia I found the temperature exceedingly mild; the fields and the foliage likewise were remarkably fresh and green, and as beautiful as the gardens of Valencia in April. The people there are very graceful in form, less dark than those whom I had before seen in the Indies, and wear their hair long and smooth; they are also more shrewd, intelligent and courageous. The sun was then in the sign of Virgo, over our heads and theirs; therefore all this must proceed from the extreme blandness of the temperature, which arises, as I have said, from this country being the most elevated in the world, and the nearest to the sky. On these grounds, therefore, I affirm that the globe is not spherical, but that there is the difference in its forms which I have described; the which is to be found in this hemisphere at the point

10 Probably Arguin, on the African coast.

where the Indies meet the ocean, the extremity of the hemisphere being below the equinoctial line. And a great confirmation of this is, that when our Lord made the sun, the first light appeared in the first point of the east, where the most elevated point of the globe is; and, although it was the opinion of Aristotle that the antarctic pole, or the land which is below it, was the highest part of the world, and the nearest to the heavens, other philosophers oppose him, and say that the highest part was below the arctic pole, by which reasoning it appears that they understood that one part of the world ought to be loftier and nearer the sky than the other; but it never struck them that it might be under the equinoctial in the way that I have said, which is not to be wondered at, because they had no certain knowledge respecting this hemisphere, but merely vague suppositions, for no one has ever gone or been sent to investigate the matter until your Highnesses sent me to explore both the sea and the land. I found that between the two straits which, as I have said before, face each other in a line from north to south, is a distance of twenty-six leagues; and there can be no mistake in this calculation, because it was made with the quadrant. I also find that from these two straits on the west, up to the above mentioned gulf, to which I gave the name of the Gulf of Pearls, there are sixty-eight leagues of four miles to the league, which, is the reckoning we are accustomed to make at sea; from this gulf the water runs constantly, with great impetuosity, toward the east, and this is the cause why in these two straits there is so fierce a turmoil from the fresh water encountering the water of the sea. In the southern strait, which I named the Serpent's Mouth, I found that toward evening the polar star was nearly at five degrees elevation; and in the northern, which I called the Dragon's Mouth, it was at an elevation of nearly seven degrees. The before mentioned Gulf of Pearls is to the west of the¹¹ of Ptolemy, nearly three thousand nine hun-

11 Words lacking in original MS.

dred miles, which make nearly seventy equinoctial degrees, reckoning fifty-six and two-thirds to a degree. The Holy Scriptures record that our Lord made the earthly paradise and planted in it the tree of life, and thence springs a fountain from which the four principal rivers in the world take their source, namely: the Ganges, in India, the Tigris and Euphrates in¹² which rivers divide a chain of mountains, and forming Mesopotamia, flow thence into Persia—and the Nile, which rises in Ethiopia and into the sea at Alexandria.

I do not find, nor have I ever found, an account by the Romans or Greeks which fixes in a positive manner the site of the terrestrial paradise, neither have I seen it given in any *mappe-monde* laid down from authentic sources. Some place it in Ethiopia, at the sources of the Nile, but others, traversing all these countries, found neither the temperature nor the altitude of the sun correspond with their ideas respecting it; nor did it appear that the overwhelming waters of the deluge had been there. Some pagans pretended to adduce arguments to establish that it was in the Fortunate Islands, now called the Canaries, etc.

St. Isidore, Bede, Strabo, and the master of scholastic history,¹³ with St. Ambrose, and Scotus, and all the learned theologians agree that the earthly paradise is in the east, etc.

I have already described my ideas concerning this hemisphere and its form, and I have no doubt that if I could pass below the equinoctial line, after reaching the highest point of which I have spoken, I should find a much milder temperature, and a variation in the stars and in the waters; not that I suppose that elevated point to be navigable, nor even that there is water there; indeed, I believe it is impossible to ascend thither, because I am convinced that it is the spot of the earthly paradise, whither no one can go but by God's permission; but this land which your

¹² Words lacking in original MS.

¹³ Petrus Comestor, author of the *Historia Scholastica*.

Highnesses have now sent me to explore is very extensive and I think there are many other countries in the south of which the world has never had any knowledge.

I do not suppose that the earthly paradise is in the form of a rugged mountain, as the descriptions of it have made it appear, but that it is on the summit of the spot which I have described as being in the form of the stalk of a pear; the approach of it from a distance must be by a constant and gradual ascent; but I believe that, as I have already said, no one could ever reach the top; I think also that the water I have described may proceed from it, though it be far off, and that, stopping at the place which I have just left, it forms this lake. There are great indications of this being the terrestrial paradise, for its site coincides with the opinion of the holy and wise theologians whom I have mentioned; and moreover, the other evidences agree with the supposition, for I have never either read or heard of fresh water coming in so large a quantity in close conjunction with the water of the sea; the idea is also corroborated by the blandness of the temperature; and if the water of which I speak does not proceed from the earthly paradise, it appears to be still more marvellous, for I do not believe that there is any river in the world so large or so deep.

When I left the Dragon's Mouth, which is the northernmost of the two straits which I have described, and which I so named on the day of our Lady of August, I found that the sea ran so strongly to the westward that between the hour of mass, when I weighed anchor, and the hour of complines I made sixty-five leagues of four miles each; and not only was the wind not violent, but on the contrary very gentle, which confirmed me in the conclusion that in sailing southward there is a continuous ascent, while there is a corresponding descent toward the north.

I hold it for certain that the waters of the sea move from east to west with the sky, and that in passing this track they hold a more rapid course, and have thus carried away large tracts of land, and that from hence has resulted

this great number of islands; indeed, these islands themselves afford an additional proof of it, for all of them, without exception, run lengthwise from west to east, and from the northwest to the southeast, which is in a directly contrary direction to the said winds; furthermore, that these islands should possess the most costly productions is to be accounted for by the mild temperature, which comes to them from heaven, since these are the most elevated parts of the world. It is true that in some parts, the waters do not appear to take this course, but this occurs in certain spots, where they are obstructed by land, and hence they appear to take different directions.

Pliny writes that the sea and land together form a sphere, but that the ocean forms the greatest mass, and lies uppermost, while the earth is below and supports the ocean, and that the two afford a mutual support to each other, as the kernel of a nut is confined by its shell. The master of scholastic history, in commenting upon Genesis, says that the waters are not very extensive; and that although, when they were first created they covered the earth, they were vaporous like a cloud, and that afterward they became condensed, and occupied but small space, and in this notion Nicolas de Lira agrees. Aristotle says that the world is small, and the water very limited in extent, and that it is easy to pass from Spain to the Indies; and this is confirmed by Avenrutz, and by the Cardinal Pedro de Aliaco, who, in supporting this opinion, shows that it agrees with that of Seneca, and says that Aristotle had been enabled to gain information respecting the world by means of Alexander the Great, and Seneca by means of Nero, and Pliny through the Romans; all of them having expended large sums of money, and employed a vast number of people, in diligent inquiry concerning the secrets of the world, and in spreading abroad the knowledge thus obtained. The said cardinal allows to these writers greater authority than to Ptolemy, and other Greeks and Arabs; and in confirmation of their opinion concerning the small quantity of water on the surface of the globe, and the lim-

ited amount of land covered by that water, in comparison with what had been related on the authority of Ptolemy and his disciples, he finds a passage in the third book of Esdras where that sacred writer says, that of seven parts of the world six are discovered, and the other is covered with water. The authority of the third and fourth books of Esdras is also confirmed by holy persons, such as Saint Augustine, and Saint Ambrose in his *Exameron*, where he says, "Here my son Jesus shall first come, and here my son Christ shall die!" These holy men say that Esdras was a prophet, as well as Zacharias, the father of Saint John, and El Braso Simon; authorities which are also quoted by Francis de Mairones. With respect to the dryness of the land, experience has shown that it is greater than is commonly believed; and this is no wonder, for the further one goes the more one learns. I now return to my subject of the land of Gracia, and of the river and lake found there, which latter might more properly be called a sea; for a lake is but a small expanse of water, which, when it becomes great, deserves the name of a sea, just as we speak of the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea; and I think that if the river mentioned does not proceed from the terrestrial paradise, it comes from an immense tract of land situated in the south, of which no knowledge has been hitherto obtained. But the more I reason on the subject, the more satisfied I become that the terrestrial paradise is situated in the spot I have described; and I ground my opinion upon the arguments and authorities already quoted. May it please the Lord to grant your Highnesses a long life, and health and peace to follow out so noble an investigation: in which I think our Lord will receive great service, Spain considerable increase of its greatness, and all Christians much consolation and pleasure, because by this means the name of our Lord will be published abroad.

In all the countries visited by your Highnesses' ships, I have caused a high cross to be fixed upon every headland, and have proclaimed to every nation that I have discovered the lofty estate of your Highnesses, and of your

court in Spain. I also tell them all I can respecting our holy faith and of the belief in the holy mother Church, which has its members in all the world; and I speak to them also of the courtesy and nobleness of all Christians, and of the faith they have in the Holy Trinity. May it please the Lord to forgive those who have calumniated and still calumniate this excellent enterprise, and oppose, and have opposed its advancement, without considering how much glory and greatness will accrue from it to your Highnesses throughout all the world. They cannot state anything in disparagement of it, except its expense, and that I have not immediately sent back the ships loaded with gold. They speak this without considering the shortness of the time, and how many difficulties there are to contend with; and that every year there are individuals who singly earn by their deserts out of your Majesties' own household more revenue than would cover the whole of this expense. Nor do they remember that the princes of Spain have never gained possession of any land out of their own country, until now that your Highnesses have become the masters of another world, where our holy faith may become so much increased, and whence such stores of wealth may be derived; for although we have not sent home ships laden with gold, we have, nevertheless, sent satisfactory samples, both of gold and of other valuable commodities, by which it may be judged that in a short time large profits may be derived. Neither do they take into consideration the noble spirit of the princes of Portugal, who so long ago carried into execution the exploration of Guinea, and still follow it up along the coast of Africa, in which one-half of the population of the country has been employed, and yet the King is more determined on the enterprise than ever. The Lord grant all that I have said, and lead them to think deeply upon what I have written; which is not the thousandth part of what might be written of the deeds of princes who have set their minds upon gaining knowledge, and upon obtaining territory and keeping it.

I say all this, not because I doubt the inclination of your Highnesses to pursue the enterprise while you live—

for I rely confidently on the answers your Highnesses once gave me by word of mouth—nor because I have seen any change in your Highnesses, but from the fear of what I have heard from those of whom I have been speaking; for I know that water dropping on a stone will at length make a hole. Your Highnesses responded to me with that nobleness of feeling which all the world knows you to possess, and told me to pay no attention to these calumniations; for that your intention was to follow up and support the undertaking, even if nothing were gained by it but stones and sand. Your Highnesses also desired me to be in no way anxious about the expense, for that much greater cost had been incurred on much more trifling matters, and that you considered all the past and future as well laid out; for that your Highnesses believed that our holy faith would be increased, and your royal dignity enhanced, and that they were no friends of the royal estate who spoke ill of the enterprise.

And now, during the despatch of the information respecting these lands which I have recently discovered, and where I believe in my soul that the earthly paradise is situated, the “Adelantado” will proceed with three ships, well stocked with provisions, on a further investigation, and will make all the discoveries he can about these parts. Meanwhile, I shall send your Highnesses this letter, accompanied by a drawing of the country, and your Majesties will determine on what is to be done, and give your orders as to how it is your pleasure that I should proceed: the which, by the aid of the Holy Trinity, shall be carried into execution with all possible diligence, in the faithful service and to the entire satisfaction of your Majesties.

Deo Gratias!

